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A REFERENCE GRAMMAR OF PANJABI.

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DESCRIPTORS- *PANJABI, *GRAMMAR, *PHONOLOGY, *LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION, *LINGUISTICS,

A REFERENCE GRAMMAR WAS PREPARED FOR STUDENTS OF PANJABI. THE INTENTION OF THE COMPILERS WAS TO MAKE IT USEFUL TO THOSE PREPARING TEACHING MATERIALS FOR PANJABI, THOSE TEACHING THE LANGUAGE BY MODERN AURAL-LINGUAL METHODS, OR OTHER USERS (NOT NECESSARILY PROFESSIONAL LINGUISTS) WHO WISH A DESCRIPTION BASED EQUALLY ON THE SPOKEN AND THE WRITTEN LANGUAGE. IN FORM OF PRESENTATION IT IS A REFERENCE GRAMMAR RATHER THAN A TECHNICAL STRUCTURAL SKETCH. WHEN A CHOICE HAD TO BE MADE, THE MORE CONVENTIONAL TREATMENT WAS USED. STUDENTS OF PANJABI WHO HAVE KNOWN THE LANGUAGE FROM CHILDHOOD WILL FIND SOME THINGS OF INTEREST IN THIS GRAMMAR. SOME TOPICS ARE TREATED IN GREATER DETAIL THAN IN ANY PREVIOUS PANJABI GRAMMAR. SOME SUBJECTS COVERED IN THIS BOOK HAVE RECEIVED NO ATTENTION AT ALL IN THE TRADITIONAL GRAMMARS. THE TONES, THE RELATION OF WRITING TO SPEECH, AND MANY POINTS OF SYNTAX ARE EXAMPLES. ON THOSE TOPICS WHICH HAVE BEEN WELL COVERED, THE PERSPECTIVE GAINED BY SEEING THEM FROM A NEW VIEWPOINT MAY BE VALUABLE AND SUGGESTIVE OF IMPORTANT INSIGHTS. (TC)

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H.A.GLEASON,JR.

A REFERENCE GRAMMAR OF PANJABI

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Harjeet Singh Gill

and

Henry A. Gleason, Jr.

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PREFACE

Panjabi is a language with a rich and varied literature deserving to be much better known. It is spoken as the language of everyday use by a large population over a vast area. It is used in schools, in government, in business. Because of its importance there is a real and pressing need to make available certain essential information about it.

The foreigner desiring to learn or use Panjabi has suffered under serious handicaps. There is little available in the way of grammars, dictionaries, or textbooks for his use. This grammar is designed to meet one small part of this need. It has been the intention of the compilers to make it maximally useful to those preparing teaching materials for Panjabi, those teaching the language by modern aural-lingual methods, or other users (not necessarily professional linguists) who wish a description based equally on the spoken and the written language. In form of presentation it is, therefore, a reference grammar rather than a technical structural sketch. Moreover, when a choice had to be made, the more conventional treatment was elected.

Students of Panjabi who have known the language from childhood will find some things of interest in this grammar. Some topics are treated in greater detail than in any previous Panjabi grammar. Some subjects covered in this book have received no attention at all in the traditional grammars. The tones, the relation of writing to speech, and many points of syntax are examples. Moreover, even on those topics which have been well covered, the perspective gained by seeing them from a new viewpoint may be valuable and suggestive of important insights.

No grammar of Panjabi of the dimensions of this one could cover all topics exhaustively. Indeed, there remain a number of problems which could only be opened in the time available. Some of these deserve much further work. As examples, the use of catenative and reinforcer verbs, sentence sequencing, and stylistic variations in syntactic patterns may be mentioned. It is hoped that this grammar may provide a foundation for future work on some of these questions both in Panjab and abroad.

The present work was done at the Hartford Seminary Foundation under a contract with the U. S. Office of Education. The research was largely done by Harjeet Singh Gill; the organization as a reference grammar was done largely by H. A. Gleason, Jr. Part of the grammar, in a slightly different form, was presented by H. S. Gill as a thesis for the Ph. D. degree in linguistics to the Hartford Seminary Foundation in the spring of 1962. Microfilm copies of the thesis can be had from University Microfilms Inc., Ann Arbor, Michigan. The grammar also incorporates earlier work done by H. S. Gill as a research scholar of the Panjab University, Chandigarh, and as a fellow at the Deccan College, Poona. It also, of course, makes use of the work of earlier scholars, particularly T. Grahame Bailey, Banarsi Dass Jain, and Kali Charan Bahl.

Many people have assisted in various ways in this work. Foremost among them is Mohan Singh Dewana, former head of the Department of Panjabi at the Panjab University. He not only gave Harjeet Singh Gill his first interest in the linguistic problems of Panjabi and guided his work as a research assistant, but also has been a constant source of encouragement and advice. Among those who have assisted by recording texts have been: Ajit Singh, Daud Rahbar, Gurcharn Kaur, Gurdip Singh Dhillon, Kundan Singh Dhillon, Mukhtar Singh Mahal, and Satindar Singh. Mrs. C. Freeman Reynolds typed the masters with outstanding accuracy, and Mr. Pasquale de Rose ran them.

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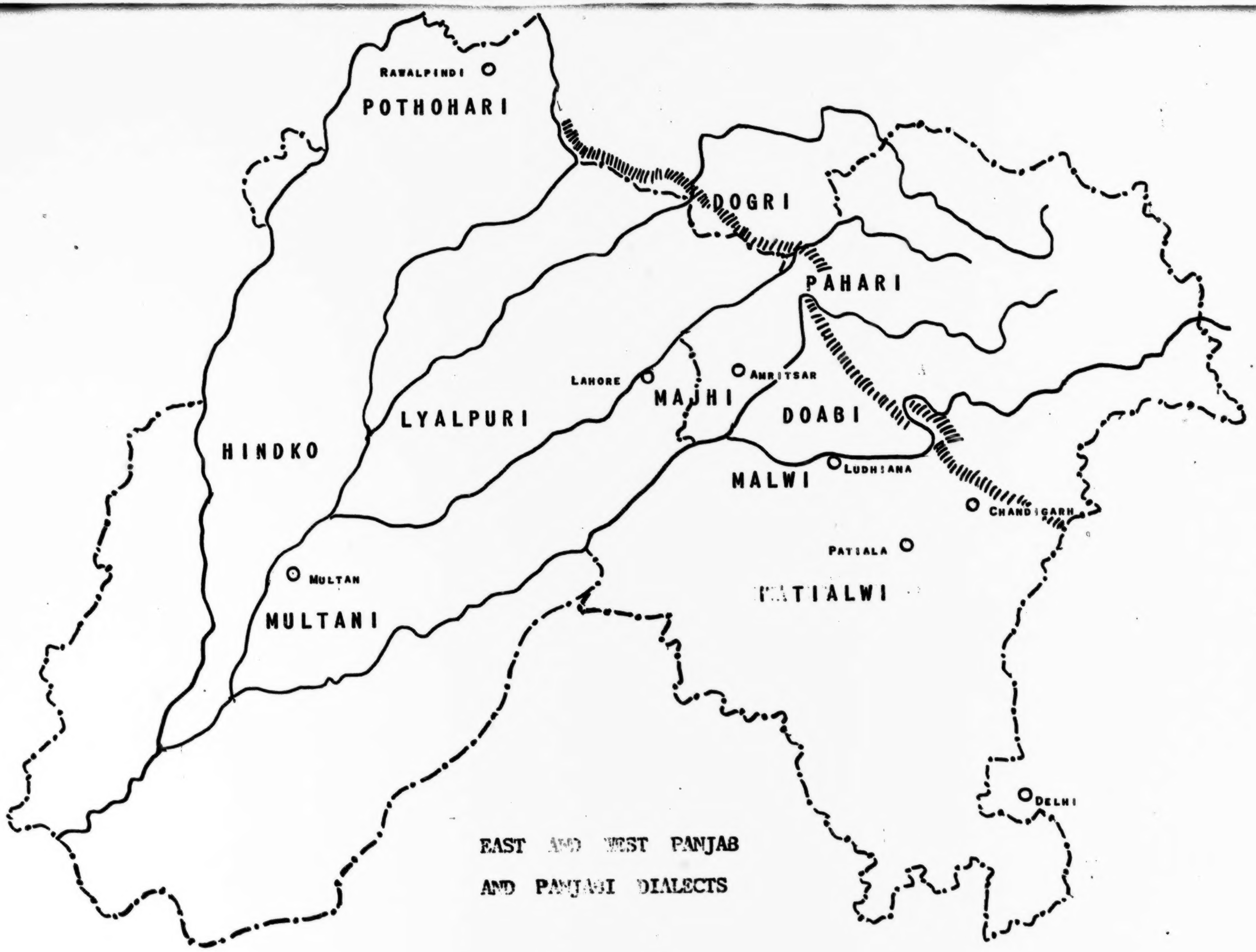
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POTHOHARI
DOGRI
PAHARI
HINDKO
LYALPURI
LAHORE
MAJHI
AMRITSAR
DOABI
MALWI
LUDHIANA
CHANDIGARH
PATIALA
PATIALWI
MULTAN
MULTANI
DELHI

EAST AND WEST PANJAB
AND PANJABI DIALECTS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Language

Panjabi is an Indo-Aryan language. It is spoken by about thirty million people in India and Pakistan. Along with Hindi, it is the official language of the East Panjab (India). This study attempts to present a reference grammar of the standard Panjabi language based on the Majhi dialect of the Amritsar area. The traditionally recognized dialects other than Majhi are: Doabi - Jullundhur and Hoshiarpur districts, Malwi - Ludhiana district, Patialwi - Patiala and Sangrur districts, Dogri - Jammu district, Pahari - Chamba and Mandi districts (India); and Layalpuri - Layalpur district, Multani - Multan district, Hindko - Hazara district, Pothohari - Rawalpindi district (Pakistan). Multani, Puthohari, and Hindko are sometimes grouped under the name 'Lahnda' and are considered a separate branch. This classification, however, is highly questionable. Since there has been no scientific survey of the Panjabi dialects, no further details can be given at this stage.

Panjabi is usually written in the Gurmukhi script developed by the Sikh Gurus, hence its name Gurmukhi - literally 'from the mouth of the Guru'. The Muslim writers of Panjabi employ Persian script. Since some very significant literature is produced by the Muslims, Persian script has been a very important medium for Panjabi. Gurmukhi, however, is the sole medium of writing in India.

1.2 History

Panjabi has passed through four main stages:

(a) Old Panjabi. This period is not very well marked. Roughly speaking, it begins with the eleventh century A.D. The standard literary language of this era is based on Western Panjabi, mainly the Multani dialect. The writers representing this tradition are: Farid I, Ibrahim, Kamal, Gorakhnath, Charpat, Chand, and Khusro.

(b) Medieval Panjabi - from the fifteenth to the beginning of the eighteenth century. This period may be called The Age of Nanak. It is the golden age of Panjabi letters. It is in this period that the Panjabi language was developed to express the highest thoughts in theology in the simplest possible manner. The most important date in the history of the Panjabi language is A.D. 1604 when Guru Arjun edited and compiled the Adi Granth, the Sikh holy scripture. The Adi Granth includes hymns by the Sikh Gurus Nanak, Angad, Amardas Ramdas, Arjun, and one couplet by Gobind Singh. Also there are hymns by a number of Muslim and Hindu saints including Kabir, Farid, and Namdev. These hymns are composed in classical Indian meters. All stages of the Panjabi language up to that time are represented in this voluminous work. It is the beginning of the standardization of the Panjabi language based on the Majhi dialect of Amritsar and Lahore districts. Another very important writer of this period is the Muslim Sufi poet, Shah Hussain of Lahore.

(c) Middle Panjabi - from the beginning of eighteenth century to the end of the nineteenth century. In this period two types of literary activity were going on. There were Muslim writers of romances who brought in a large number of Arabic-Persian words, and a very powerful stream of secular literature. The other group was composed of Sikh and Hindu writers who were working on theological treatises and theologically based popular writings. Their language was also based on the dialect of Amritsar district but it was heavily overcast with Sanskrit loan words and grammatical influences from the common language of the Sadhus of North India, called Sadh Bhakha. The important writers of this age for the romances are: Waris, Ahmad Yar, and Hashim; and for theological works: Dial Singh, Santokh Singh, and Krishan Lal.

(d) Modern Panjabi. The modern literature has been heavily influenced by the Western literatures, mainly English. In recent years the leftist writers have been pondering over Russian literature for their inspiration. Panjabi has undergone further standardization in this period. To give a general survey of the literary activity of this age, an introduction to some of the important writers may be given as follows:

Dit Singh was one of the earliest prose writers. He wrote mainly on controversial religious issues. Bhai Wir Singh (1872-

1956) gave Panjabi both prose and poetry of the finest quality. He wrote biographies of Guru Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh - several hundred pages each - and a few novels, all deeply religious with a strong Sikh bias. Dhani Ram Chatrik (1876-1954) was a popular poet of fairly good quality. Puran Singh (1881-1931), a chemist by profession who became a Buddhist for a short period during his stay in Japan, gave Panjabi its best mystic prose and started a movement of Walt Whitman type poetry, which, of course, did not last very long. Bhai Jodh Singh has contributed lucid prose. He is the foremost Sikh theologian. Sher Singh is another important figure in Sikh theology. Prem Singh Hotimardan, Karam Singh, and Ganda Singh are the leading historians. Teja Singh (1892-1955) wrote both on religion and literature. His booklets on Sikhism are quite popular. Mohan Singh Dewana wrote the first scientific history of the Panjabi literature as his D.Litt. dissertation for the Panjab University in 1933. Before that he had obtained a Ph.D. from the University of Calcutta for his study of modern Urdu poetry. Since 1933 he has been very actively engaged in research. Besides doing outstanding work on Kabir and Gorakhnath, he has edited several old and medieval manuscripts of considerable linguistic import. He has written both prose and poetry. His short stories are among the best in our literature. He is a realist writer with a strong rightist bias. The man second to Dr. Dewana in scholarly and literary achievement is Sant Singh Sekhon. He is our best literary critic. His plays and short stories would rate very high in any literature. Recently he has translated some of Shakespeare and Sophocles in Panjabi verse. He is a realist writer with a strong leftist bias. Dewan Singh of Khalsa College Amritsar and Gulwant Singh of Government College Ludhiana are two other promising scholars. Gurbakhsh Singh, an American trained engineer turned literatuer, has given Panjabi its best modern romantic prose. He writes both short stories and essays. He could be classified as a leftist romantic. Kartar Singh Duggal writes better short stories than Gurbakhsh Singh in technique and artistic finish but cannot match Gurbakhsh Singh's style. Mohan Singh Mahir is the most popular poet with leftist romantic inclinations. Pritam Singh Safir has given Panjabi its finest modern mystic poetry. Amrita Pritam writes some kind of romantic poetry with a strong leftist bias and is becoming popular every day. As time passes, she might acquire some depth too. Besides Sant Singh Sekhon, mentioned above, Ishwar Chandar Nanda, Harcharn Singh, Gurdial Singh Phul, Gurdial Singh Khosla, Balwant Rae Gargi, and Roshan Lal Ahuja are other important playwrights. Nanak Singh, Jaswant Singh Kanwal, Narindarpal Singh, and Surindar Singh Narula are among the best novelists.

1.3 Studies in Panjabi Grammar

There is little literature on Panjabi grammar. T. Grahame Bailey's A Panjabi Phonetic Reader, London, 1913, was the first attempt to transcribe Panjabi speech phonetically. Mohan Singh Dewana's Panjabi Language and Prosody, Lahore 1933; Banarsi Dass

Jain's A Phonology of Panjabi and a Ludhinai Phonetic Reader, Lahore 1934; and Kali Charn Bahal's short article, Tones in Panjabi, Indian Linguistics, Volume 17, pp. 139-47, 1957, are studies devoted only to the phonology of Panjabi. On Panjabi grammar, we have Wm. St. Clair Tisdall's Panjabi Language, Calcutta, 1889, an extremely brief outline; T. Grahame Bailey's Panjabi Manual and Grammar, 1912, a very short sketch accompanying the manual; Ram Singh's Wadda Panjabi Vyakarn, Amritsar 1924; and Karam Singh Gangawala's Panjabi Vyakarn, Amritsar 1935. The last two works are of considerable length and detail. Both the grammarians have employed the traditional classifications. There is no description of the phonology and the sections on syntax are very sketchy. Gangawala's Vyakarn has been printed several times, in different forms, to meet the needs of the primary and high school students. In recent years, there have been numerous high school grammars based on Gangawala and Ram Singh's models. None of them shows any original research. On the introduction to the history of the Panjabi language, there have been two recent studies by Prem Parkash Singh and Vidya Bhaskar Arun. These are very important contributions to Panjabi linguistics. Prem Parkash Singh and Arun are able philologists.

This study is restricted to the modern standard language, both written and spoken. Only occasional references are made to other dialects or to older forms.

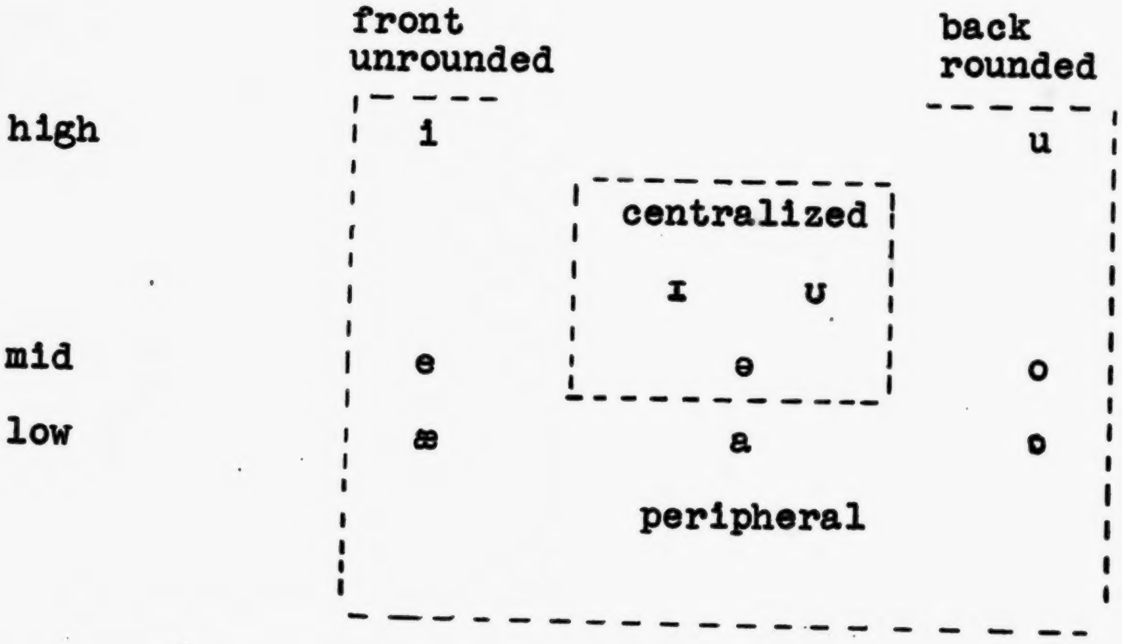
CHAPTER 2

SEGMENTAL PHONOLOGY

2.1 Inventory

Panjabi has 42 segmental phonemes: 10 vowels (described in 2.3 to 2.7), 29 consonants (described in 2.10 to 2.14), 2 semivowels (see 2.8), and nasalization (see 2.9). The latter is included here, though not phonetically segmental, because of close relationship with the consonants and vowels. The segmental phonemes can be tabulated as follows:

Vowels:


front unrounded
back rounded
high
mid
low
i
u
centralized
ɪ
ʊ
e
ə
o
æ
a
ɔ
peripheral

Consonants:

		velar	palatal	retroflex	dental	labial
Stops:	voiceless	k	c	t̲	t	p
	aspirate	kh	ch	t̲h	th	ph
	voiced	g	j	d̲	d	b
Nasals		ŋ	ñ	n̲	n	m
Flaps and trills				r̲	r	
Laterals				l̲	l	
Sibilants:	voiceless			š	s	
	voiced				(z)	
Fricative						(f)
Glottal	h					
Semivowels			y			w
Nasalization	~					

The two written in parentheses, (z) and (f), are of limited occurrence and somewhat doubtful phonemic status. (See 2.12.6, 2.12.7)

2.2 Comparison with Hindi and Urdu

The inventory of segmental phonemes of Panjabi is basically similar to that of Hindi or Urdu. As far as the systems coincide, the phonetics are also very similar -- essentially identical with Hindi and Urdu as spoken in the Panjab. The following differences may be noted:

Hindi घ झ ढ ध भ, Urdu گھ جھ ڈھ دھ بھ, do not occur in Panjabi, either as unit phonemes or as clusters. In cognates or loans they are replaced by /k c t̲ t p/ with following low tone in initial position, and by /g j d̲ d b/ with preceding high tone or following low tone in medial position. As these combinations of consonants and tones are spelled by letters cognate to the Devanagari voiced aspirates, the replacements can be read out of the reading rules. (See 4.7)

Urdu ق ژ خ غ are missing in Panjabi. The first two of these are commonly merged with ک ز in the Urdu spoken in Panjab. The last two are used in Panjabi, but so rarely as not to justify inclusion in the table of phonemes; they are distinguished by a diacritic in very carefully written Panjabi. Loan words from Persian which might be expected to have comparable sounds in Panjabi have /k z kh g/ or /k j kh g/.

Panjabi /r̲/ is clearly in contrast with /d̲/. In Hindi and Urdu the status of [r̲] varies, some speakers having a contrast with [d̲] and some not. The contrast in Panjabi is generally stronger than in any Hindi or Urdu dialect. Phonetically, Panjabi /r̲ d̲/ are similar to comparable sounds in Hindi and Urdu. Panjabi /r̲/ is like Hindi and Urdu [r̲] not used in initial position. (See 2.12.2)

Panjabi has a full set of nasals /ŋ ñ n̲ n m/. These are phonetically similar to the equivalent nasal allophones of

Hindi or Urdu. But whereas standard Hindi or Urdu has only two in contrast, these are all five phonemic. The contrasts of /n̲ n m/ are strong. The contrasts of ŋ ñ/ with each other and with /n̲ n m/ are much weaker, but sufficient to give phonemic status. (See 2.12.4, 2.12.5)

Standard Majhi Panjabi has a retroflex lateral /l̲/ in strong contrast with dental /l/. In some other dialects, however, this contrast does not exist. [l̲] is not used in Standard Hindi or Urdu.

Panjabi vowels are generally similar to those of Hindi and Urdu. The inventory is the same, and the classification into central (or "short") /ə ɪ ʊ/, and peripheral (or "long") /i e æ a ɔ o u/ is shared. The phonetics are generally closely parallel. But /æ ɔ/ require comment. These are the low, very weakly off-glided vowels used in Panjab Hindi or Urdu, not the much more strongly diphthongal varieties heard particularly in the east or south of the Hindi area. Nothing approaching [əy] or [əw] can be used. Panjabi /ə/ is perhaps more open (i.e., lower) than the equivalent vowel of many forms of Hindi.

Panjabi has a smaller inventory of consonant clusters than does Hindi or Urdu, and clusters are in general somewhat less frequent. Initial clusters are not found at all, and medial and final clusters are of more sharply restricted types. Hindi or Urdu loans with non-permitted clusters are generally altered by insertion of /ə/ between the members. Moreover, some of the clusters described here as occurring in Panjabi may be broken up by /ə/ in the speech of some, or in certain styles of speaking for many others. The presence or absence of /ə/ in many of these instances is of extremely low functional load. (See 2.15) As fewer 'tatsamas' are used in Panjabi than in Hindi, many of the Hindi words with initial clusters, or with complex medial clusters, do not have Panjabi equivalents.

The major phonologic difference between Panjabi and Hindi or Urdu is in the tone system, described in Chapter 3.

2.3 Phonetics of the Vowels

The front and central vowels are unrounded. The back vowels, including the centralized back vowel are weakly rounded, /u/ a bit more than the others. No pair of vowels is distinguished only or even primarily by rounding.

There are three distinctive tongue heights in the peripheral vowels, high, mid, and low. There are three positions, front, central, and back. Only one of the peripheral vowels has central articulation, and it is very low.

The high vowels /i u/ are pure (unglided), except before other vowels where there is always a noticeable automatic glide. (See 2.8) The mid vowels /e o/ are pure or have very weak final upglides, noticeable before other vowels. By comparison with English /ey ow/ they are noticeably more pure. The low back vowel /ɔ/ is a very low, weakly rounded back vowel, sometimes with weak upglide. It does not occur before other vowels.

The low front vowel /æ/ is generally very slightly upglided, but the dominant effect is that of a very low front vowel, not greatly different from English /æ/ or /æ H/. The low central vowel /a/ is generally a pure unglided vowel. It is slightly fronted before dental consonants, and slightly backed before velar. The contrast with /æ/ and /ɔ/, however, is maintained in all environments.

The centralized vowels /ɪ ə ʊ/ are laxer than the peripheral vowels /i e æ a ɔ o u/ and more or less centralized in articulation. (See 2.5) /ə/ is only slightly higher than /a/. /ɪ ʊ/ are slightly lower than /i u/. /ɪ/ is slightly less front than /i/, and /ʊ/ is slightly less back than /u/.

> The centralized vowels are perhaps somewhat shorter in duration than the peripheral, and following tradition in Indian languages, are sometimes referred to as "short" in contrast to "long". However, the difference in duration is less prominent than that in quality, and is less regularly maintained. They are, therefore, not here considered as short. The characteristic feature is clearly their centralization, and the associated laxer articulation. If referred to as short, this can only be considered as a conventional designation with no phonetic significance.

The quality and duration of vowels are affected by the accompanying tone. (See 3.5) In general, they are laxer with high tone and tenser with low. They are longer with low tone and shorter with high. These vowel differences, here treated as allophonic, are actually important cues in tone recognition.

2.4 Vowel Contrasts

All the vowels can be shown to be in contrast in final position in monosyllables by the following sets of words. All words with final /ɪ ə ʊ/ are included here. (See 2.5) They provide minimal pairs for all but /ɪ : a/, /ɪ : ɔ/, and /ɪ : o/, but subminimal pairs for these.

/kī/	'what'	/jī/	'sir'			/lí/	'path'
/kē/	'chez'	/jē/	'if'			/lé/	'an animal'
/kǣ/	'vomit'	/jǣ/	'vivo'			/lǽ/	'get down'
/kà/	'grass'	/jā/	'go'	/cā/	'enthusiasm'	/lá/	'detach'
/kɔ́/	'say'	/jɔ̄/	'oats'	/cɔ̄/	'a plow part'	/lɔ́/	'get down' (polite)
/kó/	'wound'	/jō/	'hitch'	/cō/	'milk'	/ló/	'griddle'
/kū/	'speak'	/jú/	'farm'			/lú/	'burn'
/kə̄/	'about'			/cə̄/	'in'		
/kɪ̄/	'that'						
/kʊ̄/	'about'	/jʊ̄/	'emphatic particle'				

All vowels contrast in medial position:

/tīr/	'arrow'	/pīr/	'old man'	/cīr/	'cut'		
/tēr/	'others'					/sēr/	'seer'
/tǣr/	'swim'	/pǣr/	'foot'			/sǣr/	'walk'
/tār/	'float'	/pār/	'across'	/cār/	'four'	/sār/	'condition'
/tɔ̄r/	'actions'	/pɔ́r/	'watch'	/cɔ̄r/	'fan'		
/tōr/	'walk'	/pōr/	'drill'	/cōr/	'thief'		
/tūr/	'a legume'	/pūr/	'load'	/cūr/	'tired'	/sūr/	'pig'

/tə̄r/	'swim'	/pə̄r/	'but'	/cə̄r/	'graze'		
/tɪ̀r/	'refuge'			/cɪ̄r/	'late'	/sɪ̄r/	'head'
/tʊ̄r/	'walk'	/pʊ̄r/	'town'	/cʊ̀r/	'worry'	/sʊ̄r/	'tune'

2.5 Classification and Distribution of the Vowels

The classification of the vowels into two groups, centralized and peripheral, reflects both phonetics (See 2.3) and distribution. There are only relatively minor differences in distribution of the vowels within the classes. What differences may be observed are largely chargeable to the differences in frequency.

The centralized vowels /ɪ ə ʊ/ do not occur in word final position except in the following words:

/kɪ̄/	'that'	/kʊ̄/	'about'	/jʊ̄/	'emphatic particle'
/kə̄/	'about'	/cə̄/	'in'		

Note that these are all function words, all very common, all monosyllabic, and all with mid tone.

The peripheral vowels occur freely in word final position in all kinds and lengths of words, and with all tones;

/kī/	'what'	/mí/	'rain'	/kūr̲i/	'girl'
/sē/	'apple'	/é/	'he'	/mūn̲d̲e/	'boys'
/lǣ/	'take'	/rǽ/	'staying'	/nɪrpæ̀/	'fearless'
/pā/	'put'	/cá/	'tea'	/pər̲à/	'teach'
/rɔ̄/	'wave'	/rɔ́/	'stay'	/tərɔ́/	'fear'
/rō/	'weep'	/ó/	'he'	/lǣn̲o/	'taking'
/nū/	'to'	/nú/	'daughter-in-law'	/cāku/	'knife'

Peripheral vowels do not occur before geminate clusters, whereas centralized vowels do:

/hŏt̲t̲i/ 'shop' /cĭt̲t̲a/ 'white' /kŭkkər̲/ 'chicken'

Centralized vowels occur before all final clusters; peripheral vowels only before homorganic nasal + stop and a few examples of one pattern, /st š̆t š̆t̲/. Full listings and examples are given in 2.13 and 2.14.

Both classes of vowels occur before single consonants and before certain intervocalic clusters other than geminate. (See 2.14)

Centralized vowels occur as the first member of diphthongs (see 2.6). Peripheral vowels followed by vowels (always peripheral) fall into different syllables. (See 2.7) Excepting the diphthongs, every syllable contains one and only one vowel.

2.6 Diphthongs

The following true diphthongs occur. The two vocalic elements form the nucleus of a single syllable.

/ɪə/	/wɪə̆ŋg/	'trick'	(This diphthong is quite rare)
/ɪo/	/pɪŏ/	'father'	
/ɪɔ/	/lɪɔ̀n̲a/	'to bring'	
/ɪa/	/lɪă/	'took'	
/ʊa/	/gʊăca/	'lost'	
/əi/	/gəĭ/	'went'	
/əe/	/rəé/	'stayed'	
/əu/	/rəú/	'shall stay'	

Alternatively, [ɪ] and [ʊ] might be phonemicized as /y/ and /w/: */pyō/ 'father', */gwāca/ 'lost'. However, this would obscure the parallelism of /ɪə ɪo ɪɔ ɪa ʊa/ with /əi əe əu/, or require the recognition of a third semivowel */x/ to represent the [ə]-like elements in [gəi], */gxi/ etc. The latter expedient seems very poorly warranted, particularly since it would give rise to the only consonant in the language occurring only in clusters. See 2.12.

2.7 Disyllabic Vowel Sequences

All sequences of vowels, other than monosyllabic diphthongs (for which see 2.6), involve two peripheral vowels. There is a very slight to moderate non-syllabic vocalic glide between successive vowels (see 2.8). The following combinations have been observed:

	i	e	a	ɔ	o	u
i		ie			io	iu
e	ei					
a	ai	ae			ao	au
ɔ						
o	oi	oe	oa			ou
u	ui	ue	ua		uo	

Certain systematic restrictions are evident: /æ ɔ/ do not occur either as first or second member; no sequences of identical vowels occur. The non-occurrence of /*ia *ea *eo *eu/ may be accidental.

Examples are as follows:

/ie	/kũr̲ie/	'O, girl'
/io/	/jío/	'vivo' (a blessing)
/iu/	/niũn̲a/	'to bow'
/ei/	/tẽi/	'twenty-three'
/ai/	/pãi/	'put'
/ae/	/lãe/	'attached'
/ao/	/láo/	'detach'
/au/	/jáu/	'shall go'
/oi/	/lõi/	'blanket'
/oe/	/rõe/	'wept'
/oa/	/t̲õa/	'pit'
/ou/	/khóu/	'shall snatch'
/ùi/	/sũi/	'needle'
/ue/	/cúe/	'rats'
/ua/	/pùa/	'father's sister'
/uo/	/kúo/	'speak'

2.8 Semivowels and Glides

/y/ and /w/ are semivowels. They pattern like consonants except in delimiting the domain of nasalization (see 2.9). As phonemicized here, they are of very restricted distribution, but various other non-syllabic vocalic glides are heard that might be considered semivowels.

/y/ occurs only initially, and largely only before the back vowels, /e/, and /a/. In some dialects, initial /j/ is replaced by /y/.

/w/ does not occur finally. It is commonest before front vowels, /ə/, and /a/ in initial position. /w/ occurs medially only when either preceded or followed by a front vowel, in the sequences /awa/ and /əwa/ or syllable initial after consonants. It is not geminated, and does not occur as first member in clusters.

The following are examples of /y/ and /w/.

/wāl̲/	'hair'	/yār/	'friend'
/wə̄s/	'rain'	/yə̄ntər/	'a device'
/wǣr/	'enmity'		
/wēl̲/	'a ceremony'		
/wīr/	'brother'		
		/yōg/	'yoga'
		/jōr ~ yōr/	'strength'
/dīwa/	'lamp'		
/mēwa/	'fruit'		
/lə̄we/	'let him take'		
/gā̃wa/	'cows'		
/bárwã/	'twelfth'		

The names of the letters ਯ and ਵ, /yēya/ and /wə̄wwa/, are exceptions to the statements made above, but of little consequence (see 4.2).

[y] and [w]-like glides between consonants and vowels are phonemicized as /ɪ/ and /ʊ/ and form the first elements of diphthongs. (See 2.6)

[w]-like glides are automatic between /u/ and any following vowel, and between /a/ or /o/ and /u/, /a/ or /o/, that is in the sequences /ui ue ua uo au ao ou oa/. As these are completely predictable, they are treated as non-phonemic and not indicated in transcription. The [w]-quality glide in the sequences [awa] and [əwa] is very noticeably stronger than that in [awo] or [owa], and is -- perhaps arbitrarily -- treated as phonemic, i.e., /awa/ and /əwa/ in contrast with /ao/ and /oa/.

[y]-like glides are heard in most sequences of vowels containing a front vowel, /ie io iu ei ai ae oi oe/. In some of these sequences these contrast with [w]-like glides. In all such cases, the [y] glides are more frequent and weaker. The latter are, therefore, interpreted as automatic and non-phonemic, hence unrepresented in the transcription. The [w] glides are interpreted as /w/.

[y]-like glides in the sequence [aya] are interpreted as /ɪ/, that is as the first member of a diphthong /ɪa/. (See 2.7)

> It must be emphasized that the contrast between /ɪ ʊ/, /y w/, and automatic glides is everywhere weak and open to a variety of phonemic interpretations. That adopted here is not wholly consistent, and many others are possible, ranging from treating all audible glides as semivowels /y w/ to treating all as centralized vowels /ɪ ʊ/. Since there are some contrasts, it is necessary to recognize at least some of them in some way in the transcription.
>
> Against every possible interpretation some objections can be raised, and against a few the objections are fairly serious. But no phonemicization is noticeably superior to all others, so that the choice must be more or less arbitrary and made within very wide limits.

The choice made here has one significant -- but quite extraneous -- advantage: It follows the practice of the Gurmukhi alphabet and Panjabi orthography, which here as in most places is quite consistent.

2.9 Nasalization

Nasalization of vowels is sometimes predictable. In these positions it is treated as non-phonemic and is not indicated in transcription. The positions are:

Before a nasal

[cə̃̄̌n]	/cə̄n/	'moon'
[kə̃̄m]	/kə̄m/	'work'
[dū̃n̲a]	/dūn̲a/	'double'

Following a nasal in word-final position, unless bearing low tone or unless bearing mid tone in second syllable.

[nã́]	/ná/	'no'
[nā̃]	/nā/	'name'
[nà]	/nà/	'bathe'
[sə̄mã]	/sə̄ma/	'time'
[semā]	/semā/	'spread'
[semāɹa]	/samāɹa/	'spread'

In other positions nasalization is non-predictable and must be recognized in the transcriptions. However, it is phonemicized differently in different places. Before consonants, nasalization -- often accompanied by a homorganic nasal inglide to the consonant --is treated as a consonant, one of /ŋ ñ n̲ n m/.

[rə̃̄gi ~ rə̃̄ᵑgi]	/rə̄ŋgi/	'colored'
[pə̃̄j ~ pə̃̄ⁿj]	/pə̄ñj/	'five'
[pĩ̄d̲ ~ pĩ̲̄ⁿd̲]	/pīn̲d̲/	'village'
[jā̃da ~ jā̃ⁿda]	/jānda/	'goes'
[lū̃bi ~ lū̃ᵐbi]	/lūmbi/	'chimney'

When final, it is treated as a phoneme of nasalization.

[gā̃]	/gā̃/	'cow'
[šǽrõ]	/šǽrõ/	'from the city'

All types of nasalization spread over any sequence of vowels not interrupted by a true consonant. /w/ does not limit the domain of nasalization. (See 2.8)

[mə̃ī̃nũ]	/meīnu/	'to me'
[jā̃ũga]	/jāuŋga/	'will go'
[kūr̲īã]	/kūr̲iã/	'girls'
[lə̃̄w̃ã]	/lə̄wã/	'may take'

We write nasalization only once. Usually this is on the final vowel. In a few cases where the stem ends in a nasalized vowel and the suffix is automatically nasalized because no consonant intervenes, it is written simply for convenience on the stem vowel.

[lə̃̄w̃ã]	/lə̄wã/ ~ lə̃̄wa/	'may take'

Similarly, when a stem ends in a non-phonemic nasalized vowel and a suffix consists of a nasalized vowel, the nasalization is sometimes written on the suffix even when redundant.

[lə̃ī̃nīã]	/ləīnia/ ~ /ləīniã/	'taking'

Nasalization /~/ occurs with all peripheral vowels, since all can occur final in words, the only position for /~/. The following show contrasts of nasalized and non-nasalized vowels in final position:

/nəppĩ/	'press (imp.)'	/nəppi/	'pressed'
/ākhẽ/	'you may say'	/ākhe/	'he may say'
/lǣ̃/	'take (hort.)'	/lǣ/	'take (imp.)'
/lā̃/	'string'	/lā/	'attach'
/sō̃/	'sleep'	/sō/	'hundred'
/cō̃/	'from'	/cō/	'milk'
/lū̃/	'hair'	/lū/	'hot wind'

Nasalization occurs also with the centralized vowels, but as they do not occur in final position, only when these are included in a final vowel sequence.

[gə̃ī̃ã]	/gəīã/	'went'
[mū̃d̲ĩã]	/mūn̲d̲iã/	'boys'
[sʊ̃ā̃]	/sʊā̃/	'a place name'

Alternatively, all non-predictable nasalization might have been phonemicized as /~/. This would have the effect of eliminating all homorganic-nasal-plus-consonant clusters from the inventory. At some points, this would complicate statements, at others simplify. For example, it would eliminate all three-member clusters like /sə̄ntra/ 'orange', which would be written */sə̃tra/. Treatment of all phonemic nasalization as /~/ has the further recommendation of reflecting the orthography exactly (see 4.3). The resulting transcription is, however, occasionally awkward, requiring two diacritics with one vowel. Before consonants a homorganic nasal is commonly heard in addition to the nasalization of the preceding vowel. Either analysis, therefore, has the same phonetic justification. Moreover, while non-final nasalization is in complimentary distribution with final, it is also with similar nasal consonants in other positions. Either analysis, therefore, is entirely acceptable, and the choice must be arbitrary.

As a second alternative, nasalization of final vowels might be assigned to one of the consonantal nasals. The only one available would be /ñ/, as all the others occur (even if rarely for /ŋ/) in final position. The disadvantage is the very skew distribution of /ñ/ which would result. With the present analysis both /ñ/ and /ŋ/ have skew distributions, but they are at least parallel.

2.10 Phonetics of the Consonants

All consonants in word final position have a slight vocalic release when the tone occurs on the preceding syllable. This release is of importance in the tone system as is further described in 3.5.

Stops and nasals occur at five points of articulation: velar, palatal, retroflex, dental, and labial. There are four series: voiceless unaspirate, voiceless aspirate, voiced unaspirate, and nasal. All twenty combinations occur and are phonemic.

Velar articulations vary from prevelar to midvelar or slightly postvelar. The exact articulation is conditioned by adjacent vowels.

Palatal articulations are frontal and prepalatal. The tongue tip is normally depressed. Palatal stops are clearly affricated with a sibilant quality in the offglide.

Retroflex articulations are apical and alveolar or very front palatal. The articulator is always the tip of the tongue, never the blade, and may involve the lower surface. The retroflection, however, is generally weak.

Dental articulations are generally post-dental, and always blade rather than tip. The contrast with the retroflex articulation is as much, at least, in the articulator as it is in the point of articulation.

Labial articulations are bilabial.

There is a clear contrast of aspirate and unaspirate in the voiceless stops. This contrast occurs in all positions. Voiced stops and nasals are unaspirate only. Aspiration does not occur after voiced consonants within the word, even as a separate phoneme.

Aspirate stops are treated as unit phonemes, though transcribed by digraphs. This treatment simplifies the statement of distribution by eliminating all three-member final clusters. Treatment as unit phonemes also simplifies equating phonemics and orthography (see 4.2). No confusion can result from the transcription because of the very severe restrictions of distribution of /h/, which never occurs following any consonant within the word.

All stops are lenis in medial position after centralized vowels unless geminated. Geminated stops occur only after centralized vowels and are fortis. The contrast does not occur after peripheral vowels, and in this position the stops tend to be neither markedly lenis nor markedly fortis.

/ph/ is commonly heard as a fricative [f], particularly between vowels and in word-final position. The extent to which this occurs varies from speaker to speaker, and from style to style, being commoner in more rapid speech and less formal diction.

In addition to the stops and nasals, there are three pairs of continuants contrasting as retroflex and dental, three unmatched consonants, and two semivowels (for which see 2.8).

/s/ is a voiceless, post-dental, blade sibilant. /š/ is a voiceless, alveolar to slightly retroflex tip sibilant. This contrast is fairly strong in all dialects. But in some dialects the contrast between /š/ and /ch/ is weak.

/l/ is a voiced lateral continuant with post-dental blade articulation. /l̲/ is a voiced lateral continuant with apical alveolar or retroflex articulation. The contrast is quite strong in Majhi dialect and minimal pairs are numerous. It is, however, lacking in some dialects.

/r/ is a post dental trill, generally fairly weakly trilled. /r̲/ is a retroflex flap, never having more than one constriction (i.e., never trilled). The contrast is strong.

/h/ is a glottal of the type customarily called "voiced h".

/f/ and /z/ are unpaired fricatives, one labiodental or bilabial voiceless, the other post-dental.

2.11 Consonant Contrasts

Numerous instances of contrast including minimal pairs can be found between almost any two of the 29 consonants and 2 semivowels. These are difficult to find only with some of the phonemes with very restricted distribution, but for these subminimal pairs are available. Contrasts are given here only for some of the more pertinent pairs.

1. Voiced and voiceless stops

/k g/	/kāḻi/	'black'	/gāḻi/	'abuse'
	/rōki/	'stopped'	/rōgi/	'sick'
	/sōk/	'dryness'	/sōg/	'mourning'
/c j/	/cāl/	'gait'	/jāl/	'net'
	/sōci/	'thought'	/sóji/	'welfare'
	/kēc/	'glass'	/kēj/	'cover'
/ṯ ḏ/	/ṯōḻ/	'find'	/ḏōḻ/	'drum'
	/mōṯi/	'fat'	/móḏi/	'leading'
	/chēṯ/	'big bag'	/chēḏ/	'leave'
/t d/	/tāḻ/	'step'	/dāḻ/	'dal'
	/mōti/	'pearl'	/mōdi/	'merchant'
	/lēt/	'leg'	/lēd/	'load'
/p b/	/pāḻ/	'line'	/bāḻ/	'child'
	/nēppe/	'pressed'	/nēbbe/	'ninety'
	/cīp/	'beat'	/cīb/	'dent'

2. Aspirate and unaspirate stops

/k kh/	/kāl̲i/	'black'	/khāl̲i/	'small stream'
	/sūkka/	'dry'	/sūkkha/	'a drug'
	/sūk/	'dryness'	/sūkh/	'all right'
/c ch/	/cāl̲/	'gait'	/chāl̲/	'jump'
	/mə̄cci/	'flared'	/mə̄cchi/	'fish'
	/wīc/	'in'	/wīch/	'spread'
/t̲ t̲h/	/t̲īka/	'injection'	/t̲híka/	'pebble'
	/mīt̲t̲i/	'soil'	/mīt̲t̲hi/	'sweet'
	/mə̄t̲/	'big pot'	/mə̄t̲h/	'assembly'
/t th/	/tāl̲/	'tank'	/thāl̲/	'big dish'
	/pə̄tti/	'leaf'	/pə̄tthi/	'plastered'
	/rə̄t/	'blood'	/rə̄th/	'chariot'
/p ph/	/pə̄l̲/	'moment'	/phə̄l̲/	'fruit'
	/jūppa/	'yoked'	/jə̄ppha/	'stronghold'
	/lə̆p/	'plaster'	/lə̆ph/	'mattress'

3. Dentals and Retroflexes

/t t̲/	/tīr/	'arrow'	/t̲īr/	'squint eye'
	/mōti/	'pearl'	/mōt̲i/	'fat'
	/jə̄t/	'wool'	/jə̄t̲/	'farmer'
/th t̲h/	/thə̄p/	'plaster'	/t̲hə̄p/	'cover'
	/mə̄ttha/	'forehead'	/mə̄t̲t̲ha/	'slow'
	/hə̄th/	'hand'	/hə̄t̲h/	'stamina'

/d d̲/	/dān̲/	'charity'	/d̲án̲/	'branch'
	/ə́ddi/	'half'	/ə̄d̲d̲i/	'separated'
	/sád/	'sadhu'	/sád̲/	'add a half'
/n n̲/	(/n̲/ does not occur initially)			
	/ūni/	'woolen'	/ūn̲i/	'not full'
	/mə̄n/	'mind'	/mə̄n̲/	'maund'
/r r̲/	(/r̲/ does not occur initially)			
	/pāri/	'a girl's name'	/pār̲i/	'tore away'
	/mér/	'grace'	/mér̲/	'stick'
/l l̲/	(/l̲/ does not occur initially)			
	/pāli/	'a girl's name'	/pāl̲i/	'brought up'
	/mə̄l/	'occupy'	/mə̄l̲/	'rub'
/s š/	/sēr/	'seer'	/šēr/	'lion'
	/tāsi/	'small dish'	/kāši/	'Benares'
	/lās/	'weiht'	/lāš/	'corpse'

2.12 Distribution of the Consonants

1. The majority of the consonants show no gross restrictions on occurrence. They may be initial, intervocalic, or final. In intervocalic position they may be single or geminate (see 2.14). They may occur in at least some clusters (see 2.13). There may be restrictions, however, in the consonants with which they cluster. There seem to be no important restrictions on consonant-vowel or vowel-consonant sequences.

2. There are, however, a small number of consonants with minor restrictions that should be noted: /r̲ l̲ n̲/ do not occur

initial in words. /r̲ l̲ n̲ r š/ do not occur geminated. /d̲/ does not occur in clusters. Aspirates are not second members of final clusters, in particular they are never preceded by homorganic nasals.

3. There is further a small group of consonants which do not fit into either of the two symmetrical patterns of consonants (see 2.1). /ŋ ñ/ do have places in the 5 x 4 system of stops and nasals, but are only weakly contrastive. Notes on these five follow. In addition, the two semivowels /y/ and /w/ have very heavy restrictions in distribution. (These are described in 2.8.)

4. /ŋ/ occurs commonly only in homorganic nasal-stop clusters /ŋk ŋg/. In this position /ŋ/ does not contrast with /ñ n/ since the latter never precede /k g/. /ŋ/ does however contrast with /m n̲/ in clusters, since these two occur in heterorganic clusters (see 2.13). /ŋ/ is infrequent in intervocalic position: /kə̆ŋen̲/ 'bracelet' (a rather specialized word for this meaning!). It does not occur geminated. /ŋ/ occurs in word-final position in some styles with some speakers. In this position it varies with the cluster /ŋg/. However, there are words with final /ŋg/ which do not vary with /ŋ/, so that in some samples of Panjabi, /ŋ/ contrasts with /ŋg/ at word end.

/wāŋ ~ wāŋg/	'like'
/sāŋ ~ sāŋg/	'mimic'
/wɪə̆ŋg/	'trick' never /*wɪeŋ/

5. /ñ/ occurs commonly only in homorganic nasal-stop clusters /ñc ñj/ (see 2.14). In this position /ñ/ does not contrast with /n ŋ/ since the latter do not occur in heterorganic clusters, nor with /n̲/ since this does not precede /c j/. It does however contrast with /m/, since the cluster /mj/ occurs (see 2.13). /ñ/ occurs medially and in one cluster, but not geminate, initial, or final.

/əñan̲a/	'child'	(a common word)
/mañn̲a/	'to brush'	

6. /f/ occurs in loan words from Urdu in the standard speech of educated people and in the written language. In colloquial speech, however, /ph/ is substituted. Or rather, in colloquial speech there is no contrast between [f] and [ph], the tendency being to use only [ph] initially, and to vacillate between [f] and [ph] in intervocalic and final positions, often with a decided preference for [f]. Careful standard speech maintains the contrast, but somewhat tenuously, and generally only in the initial position. (See 2.10)

	/fɔrən/	'at once'	colloquial /phɔrən/
cf.	/phɔ́r̲i/	'pole'	

Compare [bərf ~ bərəf] 'ice' which is from Urdu and might be expected to have /f/ with [lef] 'mattress' which traditionally has /ph/. The two words */bərf/ and /leph/ are said with [ph] about equally frequently so that [f] and [ph] cannot be said to contrast in this position.

7. /z/ occurs in loan words from Urdu in the standard speech of educated people and in the written language. In colloquial speech, however, /j/ is usually substituted. Occasionally a further substitution affecting also words with /j/ in standard speech occurs, and /y/ is pronounced in initial position. (See 2.8) /z/ occurs in many positions, so that it is much less restricted than other consonants discussed here, but is like them in being very infrequent.

/zor ~ jor ~ yor/	'strength'
/məzdur ~ məjdur/	'workman'
/roz ~ roj/	'daily'
/mə̄za ~ mə̄ja/	'taste'

8. /h/ occurs commonly only initial. Here it is somewhat less frequent than in Hindi or Urdu. /h/ in medial position is limited to a very few learned words as used in careful, formal pronunciation. These words are either not used at all in colloquial, or altered in unpatterned ways to conform to normal Panjabi phonology. Older /*h/ in other positions has disappeared as a consonant but altered the tone (see 4.8).

/hīssa/	'section'	
/hə̄l/	'plow'	
/kəhã̄n̲i/	'story'	colloquial /kàn̲i/
/əhīnsa/	'ahimsa'	

If aspirate stops are analyzed as clusters, /h/ would have a wider distribution: Initial and after /k c t̲ t p/ in most of the positions where these stops occur.

2.13 Final Clusters

Final clusters consist of two consonants -- never three unless aspirates are analyzed as stops plus /h/ (see 2.12.9). They are of the following patterns. Except patterns 6 and 7, final clusters follow only centralized vowels /ɪ ə ʊ/.

1. Stop + Stop.

/pt/	/cə̄pt/	'slap'
/pt̲/	/kə̄pt̲/	'disturbance'
/pk/	/lə̄pk/	'leap'
/t̲k/	/wə̄t̲k/	'sale'
/ct/	/bə̄ct/	'save'
/ck/	/mə̄ck/	'slowly'
/bt/	/zə̄bt/	'confiscated'
/bd/	/šə̄bd/	'hymn'
/gt/	/pə̀gt/	'saint'
/kht/	/sə̄kht/	'hard'

2. /l̲/ + stop, sibilant, or nasal.

/l̲p/	/kə̄l̲p/	'wail'
/l̲t/	gə̄l̲t/	'wrong'
/l̲t̲/	/hə́l̲t̲/	'well'
/l̲k/	/pə̀l̲k/	'a moment'
/l̲d/	/bə́l̲d/	'bull'
/l̲j/	/gɪ́l̲j/	'eagle'
/l̲kh/	/mɪ̄l̲kh/	'estate'

/l̲s/	/pᴜ̄l̲s/	'police'
/l̲m/	/bə́l̲m/	'spear'
/l̲n̲/	/mɪ̄l̲n̲/	'to meet'

3. /r/ + stop, sibilant, lateral, or nasal

/rt/	/wə̄rt/	'fast'
/rt̲/	/cᴜ̄rt̲/	'a drug'
/rc/	/mɪ̄rc/	'pepper'
/rk/	/ə̄rk/	'elbow'
/rb/	/cə̄rb/	'wound'
/rd/	/kə̄rd/	'knife'
/rj/	/gə̄rj/	'thunder'
/rph/	/bə̄rph/	'ice'
/rth/	/ə̄rth/	'meaning'
/rch/	/bɪ̄rch/	'tree'
/rkh/	/hɪ̄rkh/	'sorrow'
/rs/	/cə̄rs/	'a drug'
/rl/	/ə̄rl/	'bolt'
/rm/	/gə̄rm/	'hot'
/rn/	/hɪ̄rn/	'deer'

4. /r̲/ + stop

/r̲k/	/rə̄r̲k/	'pain'
/r̲b/	/hə́r̲b/	'bones'
/r̲g̲/	/khə̄r̲g̲/	'sword'

5. Nasal + heterorganic stop

/mk/	/cə̄mk/	'brightness'
/mj/	/rə̄mj/	'secret note'
/n̲k/	/kə̄n̲k/	'wheat'
/n̲g/	/cɪ́n̲g̲/	'spark'

6. Nasal + homorganic stop

/ŋk/	/ə̄ŋk/	'chapter'
/ŋg/	/wɪ̄ŋg/	'bend'
/ñc/	/kə̄ñc/	'glass'
/ñj/	/khúñj/	'miss'
/n̲t̲/	/ə̄nt šə̄n̲t̲/	'etcetera'
/n̲d̲/	/cə̄n̲d̲/	'hammer'
/nt/	/ə̄nt/	'end'
/nd/	/cə̄nd/	'moon'
/mp/	/lə̄mp/	'lamp'
/mb/	/ə̄mb/	'mango'

7. Sibilant + stop or nasal

/st/	/mə̄st/	'intoxicated'
/sk/	/cə̄sk/	'pain'
/sm/	/rə̄sm/	'custom'
/št̲/	/kə̄št̲/	'hardship'

Only the last two types occur after centralized vowels. The following are examples.

6. Nasal + homorganic stop

/ŋg/	/wāŋg/	'like'
/ŋk/	/pòŋk/	'bark'
/ñc/	/póñc/	'reach'
/ñj/	/sáñj/	'cooperation'
/n̲d̲/	/gʊán̲d̲/	'neighborhood'
/n̲t̲/	/šān̲t̲/	'cutting'
/nd/	/pǣnd/	'string for cots'
/nt/	/šānt/	'quiet'
/mb/	/lámb/	'remote place'
/mp/	/pàmp/	'watch'

7. Sibilant + stop

/st/	/pōst/	'a drug'
/št/	/gōšt/	'meat' (dialectal)
/št̲/	/gōšt̲/	'dialogue'

The lists above give example of all known clusters in each type. There are perhaps a few that have escaped detection, but the lists may be taken as fairly nearly complete.

2.14 Medial Clusters

All of the types of clusters occurring in word-final position also occur in intervocalic position. In addition almost any pair of consonants can occur, and there are no gross restrictions as to preceding vowels. Most of these are clearly a sequence of a syllable closing consonant and a syllable opening consonant. As such there is no particular relationship between them. In many instances there is a morpheme boundary between the two. The following are only suggestive of the types that occur:

/t̲d/	/kūt̲diã/	'beat'	(compare type 1, 2.13)
/t̲hd/	/ūt̲hda/	'standing'	
/l̲n̲/	/tōl̲n̲a/	'to weigh'	(compare type 2)
/rd/	/pərda/	'curtain'	(compare type 3)
/r̲k/	/lər̲ki/	'girl'	(compare type 4)
/mc/	/cəmca/	'spoon'	(compare type 5)
/nt/	/šānti/	'peace'	(compare type 6)
/sk/	/bōski/	'silk'	(compare type 7)
/t̲n̲/	/pūt̲n̲a/	'to dig'	
/ŋn̲/	/šāŋn̲a/	'to prune'	
/zd/	/mezdūr/	'workman'	
/šw/	/wɪšwāš/	'confidence'	

In very slow speech, most of these are often broken by inserting a /ə/. They are true clusters, however, in context and at normal speaking speed.

In addition there are the following types of medial cluster that warrant some special mention:

1. Geminates. All consonants occur geminated except /r l̲ n̲ r̲ ñ ŋ h y w/. Geminates are prolonged and more fortis. Geminate aspirates are prolonged and aspirated only at the final release; they are phonetically similar to a cluster of

an unaspirated stop and the homorganic aspirate. There is, however, no structural reason to consider such geminates as different from others. Note that all geminates are written alike (see 4.3). Geminate occur only after centralized vowels.

/sŪkka/	'dry'	/sʊkā/	'dry (verb)'
/sŪkkha/	'a drug'	/sʊkhā/	'to suit'
/bə̄gga/	'brown'	/wəgā/	'run'
bə̄cca/	'child'	/bəcā/	'save'
/wə̄cchá/	'calf'		
/sə̄jja/	'right'	/səjā/	'brush up'
/hə̄t̲t̲i/	'shop'	/hə̄t̲i/	'stopped'
/nə̄t̲t̲ha/	'ran'		
/ə̄d̲d̲i/	'separated'		
/Ūttər/	'answer'	/Ūtər/	'come down'
/kə̄ttha/	'Katha'	/kə̄tha/	'story'
/sə̄ddi/	'called'	/sə̄di/	'century'
/t̲ə̄ppa/	'stanza'	/t̲əpā/	'to jump'
/jə̄ppha/	'stronghold'		
/lə́bba/	'found'	/ləbà/	'find'
/cŪnni/	'scarf'	/cŪn̲i/	'picked'
/kə̄mmi/	'worker'	/kə̄mi/	'weakness'
/dĪlli/	'Delhi'	/dĪli/	'heartedly'
/kĪsse/	'stories'	/kĪse/	'who'

2. Clusters of stop + /l̲/, /r/, or /r̲/. These clusters are more tightly knit than the general rule of intervocalic consonant clusters. That this is so can be seen by comparing the next group, all of which contain similar sequences. Even when spoken very slowly, /ə/ is never inserted between the consonants.

/kl̲/	/mōkl̲a/	'loose'
/kr/	/nōkri/	'service'
/dr/	/pàdrõ/	'the month Bhadro'
/jr̲/	/ájr̲i/	'shepherd'

3. Tripartite clusters, nasal + stop + /l̲/, /r/, or /r̲/. These are the only three-member clusters in Panjabi. They are indicative of the particularly close relationship between homorganic nasals and following stops and between /l̲ r r̲/ and preceding stops.

/ñjl̲/	/wə́ñjl̲i/	'flute'
/ŋgl̲/	/sə̄ŋgl̲i/	'chain'
/ntr/	/sə̄ntra/	'orange'
/ŋkr̲/	/sǣŋkr̲a/	'unit of a hundred'
/ŋgr̲/	/tə̄ŋgr̲i/	'bundle'
/ndr̲/	/jīndr̲i/	'life'
/mbr̲/	/lũmbr̲i/	'fox'

2.15 The Status of /ə/

Most occurrences of /ə/ are completely predictable from the pattern of consonants and other vowels. In general, there can be no initial clusters, so initial consonants must be followed by /ə/ if no other vowel occurs. Words may end in peripheral vowels, single consonants, or if preceded by a centralized vowel by certain two-consonant clusters (see 2.13). Between vowels there may be zero, one, two, or three consonants. Three-consonant clusters are severely restricted (see 2.14), but there are no important restrictions of two consonant clusters between vowels. /ə/ occurs between any two consonants not otherwise separated by a vowel which cannot under these patterns form a cluster. /ə/ does not in general occur between any two consonants which might form a cluster. A more detailed statement of the rules with examples will be found in 4.6 in the form of rules to supply /ə/ in reading. Most of the rules there will be found in no way dependent on features of the writing system not equally features of the phonology. (Rules 4, 5, and 6 are the only exceptions.)

/ə/ is not predictable only in two situations. A very few words have /ə/ between consonants which might form a permitted final cluster. All these cases have the tone on this unpredictable /ə/:

/šərə̄m/	'effort'	(/šə̄rm/ is permissible)
/kərə̄m/	'action'	(/kə̄rm/ is permissible)

Somewhat commoner are words with /ə/ in a sequence of vowels. There are four of these sequences /ɪə əi əe əu/. All of these are diphthongs and might be phonemicized as having a [ə]-like semivowel rather than a /ə/ vowel. (See 2.6)

/niə̀ŋg/	'Nihang'
/ləī/	'taken'
/gəē/	'gone'
/səú/	'will tolerate'

If the case for the phonemicity of /ə/ rested alone on these two types of contrastive distribution, it would be exceedingly weak. It does not, however. The behavior of tone would be very difficult to describe without /ə/. /ə/ like other vowels can be the locus of a tone. Non-tone-bearing /ə/ behaves like other toneless vowels in the realization of tone features. (See 3.4ff)

There are, however, two very significant consequences of the fact that placement of /ə/ is so seldom constrastive:

One is that the orthography is workable, even though it does not indicate /ə/ -- or rather that it does not distinguish /ə/ from the absence of any vowel. The /ə/s that are predictable from word structure can be supplied by the reader accurately and easily. Indeed, it may be preferable to have /ə/ unrepresented.

Another is that there is a considerable amount of variation in the pronunciation of /ə/ in certain contexts. For example, some of the clusters that occur in the speech of one individual will be broken by /ə/ in that of another. This causes little difficulty, since the presence or absence of the /ə/ is of minimum significance. For example, both /bə̄rph/ and /bə̄rəph/ can be heard. The rules given here represent a standard Majhi pronunciation which is believed to be very little different in these matters from other standard speech.

CHAPTER 3

TONE AND INTONATION

3.1 General Statement

If the pitches of syllables in a Panjabi utterance are observed and an attempt made to assign them directly to pitch phonemes, the result is chaotic. The range of variation is essentially continuous, and any partitioning seems arbitrary. The observed pitch may be altered by substitution of specific words within invariant sentence frames, or by changing sentence types without altering specific words. There is, therefore, conflicting evidence pointing both to word-related tone and to sentence-related intonation. But pitch phenomena associated with specific vocabulary items, or with sentence types, are extremely variable, even capricious. Neither analysis as a tone system nor as an intonation system seems particularly productive.

If, however, the pitch on any given syllable is considered as the resultant of a number of separate but interacting phenomena, order can be found. Thus tonal and intonational contours must be factored out, and many contextual effects of neighboring units must be recognized and described. Once this is done, the system is found to contain a small number of elements: /` ¯ ´ 1 2 3, // #/. In terms of these units a manageable morphophonemics can be found. Most words are found to have a single fixed tone in all occurrences. Intonational morphemes consisting of one or more pitch levels and one terminal can be recognized and found to underlie the diverse pitch patterns in a fairly consistent way. These considerations fully justify the phonemic analysis on a factorial basis, though none of the phonemes can be demonstrated in isolation. For that matter, Panjabi vowels cannot be demonstrated apart from tone and intonation either.

It is not possible to define a phonetic manifestation for any single suprasegmental phoneme, only for combinations. But phonetic manifestations of phonemic contrasts, other factors remaining the same, are definable. For example, the contrast /`/ : /´/ is always manifested by (among other things) a difference in the actual physical pitch when all other suprasegmentals (and the base pitch of the speaker) are the same. /´/ may, however, be realized by a pitch lower than that realizing /`/ when interacting factors are not the same.

There is nothing in either Hindi or Urdu which is at all comparable to the Panjabi pitch system. The tones are cognate to Hindi ह and to the aspiration in घ झ ढ ध भ, but do not necessarily parallel these features in distribution. Tone is the most characteristic feature setting off Panjabi from the other standard languages of South Asia.

3.2 Inventory and Transcription

The inventory of suprasegmental phonemes of Panjabi is as follows:

Tones:	low tone	/`/
	mid tone	/¯/
	high tone	/´/
Intonational pitches:	lowered pitch	/1/
	normal pitch	/2/
	heightened pitch	/3/
Terminals:	level terminal	/,/
	rising terminal	/‖/
	falling terminal	/#/
Open transition:		/+/

Open transition, the phonemic status of which is not entirely established (see 3.4), is indicated in connected transcription merely by space.

Tone placement on disyllabic or longer words is contrastive. The tone symbol may, accordingly, be written on either the first or the second syllable.

Since every word has one and only one tone, it will be possible to omit marking for mid tone on the first syllable (far the commonest tone pattern), except where tone is specifically under discussion. Thus /ceŋgi/ and cēŋgi/ are equivalent transcription.

Nasalization accompanies certain vowels and is phonetically suprasegmental. However, because of close structural relationship with the vowels and consonants, it is listed with the segmental phonemes. (See 2.9)

Single words in citation form accompanied uniformly by the citation intonation contour /2 1 #/ demonstrate the three tones in contrast. When these words can occur in the same utterance environments, the contrasts are maintained. Tonal minimal pairs are abundant; triplets much less numerous. The following, however, are by no means all that can be found:

/kòr̲a/	'horse'	/kōr̲a/	'whip'	/kór̲a/	'leper'
/cà/	'peep'	/cā/	'enthusiasm'	/cá/	'tea'
/kèr̲/	'chisel'	/kēr̲/	'bottom'	/kér̲/	'boil'
/lài/	'disgrace'	/lāi/	'stuck'	/lái/	'detached'

There is also a contrast in tone placement (see 3.4).

3.3 Pitch Contrasts

The levels of these tones are not absolute, nor even constant within a given utterance. But in a given position, with everything else -- preceding and following words, intonation patterns -- being the same, the relative contrast is always maintained. For example, a mid tone with /3/ may sound higher than a high tone word with /1/. But if both are on /1/, the relative difference is clear and contrastive. Similarly, if both tones occur with /3/ in the same position, the tones preserve their relative difference. The following examples indicate the kinds of sentences in which these tone contrasts can be observed:

1. / é ^{2}cūnni ^{3}pìjji ^{1}ā / 'This scarf is wet.'
2. / é ^{2}cūnni ^{3}cə̄ŋgi ^{1}ā / 'This scarf is good.'
3. / é ^{2}cūnni ^{3}són̲i ^{1}ā / 'This scarf is pretty.'
4. / ^{2}ó ^{3}kə́l kə̀r ^{1}gɪā sī / 'He went home yesterday.'
5. / ^{2}ó ^{3}kə́l pīn̲d̲ ^{1}gɪā sī / 'He went to the village yesterday.'
6. / ^{2}ó ^{3}kə́l ṣ̌ǽr ^{1}gɪā sī / 'He went to the city yesterday.'

In such sentences tonal contrasts are clear only between words in the same position. Thus /són̲i/ in 3 is clearly higher than /cə̄ŋgi/ in 2. and that in turn than /pìjji/ in 1. All of them are higher than /ā/ with /1/. In sentences 6 /kə́l/ and /ṣ̌ǽr/ are both high tone, but /kə́l/ since it is accompanied by /3/ is higher than /š̲ǽr/ which is intonationally on the drift downward from /3/ to /1/. /ṣ̌ǽr/ is at a point in the sentence where intonational pitch is not significant (contrastive), but controlled by intonational pitches on the preceding and following words.

Pitch contrasts ascribable to intonational pitch phonemes can be heard in sentences of the following types:

/^{3}mæ̃ kél šǽr ^{1}jáuŋga # /	'*I* will go to the city tomorrow.'
/^{2}mæ̃ ^{3}kél šǽr ^{1}jáuŋga # /	'I will go to the city *tomorrow*.'
/^{2}mæ̃ ^{3}kél ^{2}šǽr jáuŋga # /	'I will go to the *city* ***tomorrow***.'
/^{2}mæ̃ kél ^{3}šǽr ^{1}jáuŋga # /	'I will go to the *city* tomorrow.'
/^{2}tũ ^{3}kél š̱ǽr ^{1}jáeŋga // /	'Will you go to the *city* tomorrow?'
/^{2}tũ ^{3}š̱ǽr ^{1}jáeŋga // /	'Will you go to the *city*?'
/^{2}w^{2}ɪ̄r # /	'Brother.' (politely calling).
/^{2}w^{2}ɪ̄r // /	'Was it brother?' (surprised)
/^{3}món̲ ^{1}nē # /	'*Mohan* did it.'
/^{3}món̲ ^{1}nē // /	'Did *Mohan* do it?'
/^{2}són̲ ^{2}neí ^{1}gɪã # /	'Sohan did not go.'
/^{2}só^{2}n̲ , ^{2}neí ^{1}gɪã # /	'Did you ask about Sohan? No, he did not go.'
/^{2}mæ̃ ónu ^{3}kɪá ^{1}sɪ̄ , ^{2}pə̄r ó ^{2}neí ^{1}ãɪa # /	'I told him but he did not come.'

3.4 Tone Placement

There is one tone onset on every word. A few morphemes occur with or without tone onsets. These are interpreted as words when with tone, as suffixes when without. All instances are grammatical elements (post positions). They occur without tone, i.e., as suffixes, only following very restricted lists of stems.

/nē/	'mark of agent'	except in	/óne/	'he (instrumental)'
/nū/	'mark of certain complements'		/məīnu/	'me'
			/sānu/	'us'
/tȭ/	'from'		/məīthõ/	'from me'
			/sāthõ/	'from us'
			/pīndõ/	'from the village'
			/wīccõ/	'from in'

This list is complete for /nē/ and /nū/. For /tȭ/ there are a few more nouns like /pīnd/, and all postpositions of the class of /wīc/. It is important to note that /tȭ/ so varies in form that the identification of the suffixes and free forms is not entirely evident. (See 5.12)

With these instances disposed of in this way, the occurrence of a tone may be taken to mark a phonologic word, generally equivalent to a morphologic word. The boundaries of the word are marked with the combination of features ascribed to (+).

Tone onsets occur only on first and second syllables of words. (Two syllable words are the commonest pattern;

one-syllable next; and longer are much less frequent than either, but not unusual.) Tone onsets are much more common on the first syllable than on the second.

There are two word-patterns in which tones occur on the second syllable:

1. Where the first syllable has a centralized vowel, the second a peripheral vowel, and the intervening consonant is single. Subminimal pairs with single and double consonants as conditioning factors are easily found:

/chelā/ 'deceive' /chə̄lla/ 'ring'

Many of the forms with double consonants and initial tone are verb forms (causatives). Comparable forms from stems ending in consonants that cannot be doubled (/r r̲ l̲ n̲/ have the tone placement as it would be if the consonant were doubled, and thus provide a contrast.

/cəl̲ā/ 'cause to walk' /cə̄la/ 'walk'

2. Where both syllables have centralized vowels. Most such words have initial tone, but a small group have second-syllable tone. Among the latter are tatsamas with initial clusters in Sanskrit:

/kerə̄m/ 'action' (from Skt. /krama/)

Because of these restrictions, minimal pairs are very difficult to find, but the following sub-minimal pairs will demonstrate the contrast.

/phēr̲i/	'caught'	/pher̲āi/	'helped catch'
/pèri/	'filled'	/perà/	'fill'
/tèri/	'placed'	/terà/	'helped place'
/pér̲i/	'educated'	/wegá/	'threw'
/wékhuŋga/	'will see'	/wekháuŋga/	'will show'

3.5 Tone Domains

A Panjabi tone is normally realized over two syllables, its domain. Of these, the most important is the first, or onset, syllable, and it is on this syllable that the tone is written in transcriptions. The onset of the tone can be on either the first or the second syllable of a word. In the latter case, there is a pretonal neutral syllable, one which is outside the domain of the tone of that word. The second part of the tone, the tail, is on a syllable following that having the onset. There are four important possibilities: 1) The word may contain a syllable following that with the tone onset. In this case the tail will be realized on this syllable. 2) The onset-bearing syllable may be final, so that there is no syllable within the word on which the tail can be realized, but the following word has a pretonal neutral syllable. The tone tail is then realized on the initial syllable of the following word. 3) The onset-bearing syllable is final in the word and the word final in an utterance or an intonation span. In this case there is a non-phonemic prolongation of the word to allow for the realization of the tail. This is vocalic release after a consonant or a lengthening of a final vowel. It is a phonetic syllable, but as it is wholly predictable it is not to be considered phonemically as a syllable. 4) The onset-bearing final syllable is followed by a word with an initial onset-bearing syllable. In slow speech a prolongation similar to that of the last case may be heard, though usually somewhat less prominent. With faster speech, this extra length may not be heard at all, and the tail is simply not realized.

Any syllable falling wholly outside the domain of a tone -- e.g. a pre-tone syllable initial in an utterance, a third syllable in a word with initial tone onset, a pretone syllable following a word with the tone not on the final syllable -- may be considered neutral. It is, of course, not completely uninfluenced by surrounding tones, but there is never any contrastive tonal phonemena and the pitch of such syllables needs no attention here.

The effects of a tone tail on otherwise similar syllables within the same word as its onset and in a following word are appreciably different. This difference is one of the more obvious evidences of open transition. Open transition may be considered as weakening the influence of a tone and reducing the differences in realization of the tails of the three contrasting tones. Open transitions occur separating the units -- phonological words -- on which the tone onsets occur. This alone is sufficient reason to make the onset of the tone, rather than the tail. Between every two tone onsets there is one open transition or phonological-word boundary. Between every two open transitions there is one tone onset. The domain of a tone, however, may cross the open transition.

Other phonetic effects of open transition beyond the weakening of tone tails have not been identified. Some boundary, however, is heard in places where this effect is not present, so it is reasonable to assume open transitions. But what is here treated as a phoneme of open transition is at best only weakly contrastive. The clearests contrasts may be only matters of tone placement:

/jēddi/	'ancestral'	/jēd dī/	'since then'
/kūr̲iã/	'girls'	/kūr̲i ā̃/	'I am a girl.'

3.6 Tone Onsets

In this section will be considered only the features of syllables bearing the onsets of tone contours. Other syllables will be described in the following sections.

The three tones contrast on onset syllables in at least three ways: pitch level, pitch contour, and duration. Of these pitch level is often the most conspicuous, but is also most affected by intonational pitch. The other two features are, therefore, of considerable importance in distinguishing tones. Though the tones are named according to level, this should not be interpreted to mean that other features are non-significant or even necessarily secondary. Tones are manifested in speech by a complex set of speech parameters which also manifest intonation pitches, and terminals.

High tone, /´/, is higher, other things being equal, than the other two. There is a marked up-glide. The syllable is shorter than with either of the other two.

Mid tone, /¯/, is intermediate in pitch between the other two, other things being equal. There is a slight up-glide. The syllable is of intermediate length.

Low tone, /`/, is the lowest tone. The pitch tends to fall slightly, never to rise. The syllable is appreciably prolonged by comparison with the other two.

The actual pitch of a syllable is affected both by intonational pitch and by tone. Each of the intonational pitches can be thought of as a range of levels within which the tones can be expressed. In general, these ranges overlap. Just how much this overlap may be varies from speaker to speaker and even from time to time. The following arrangement is diagrammatic only, and should not be interpreted as given exact equivalences of level.

/3/ { /´/ /¯/ /`/ }

/2/ { /´/ /¯/ /`/ }

/1/ { /´/ /¯/ /`/ }

That is to say, the combination /1´/ may be very little different from /3`/. They can be distinguished by the combined effect of the other features of tone (pitch glide and duration), the redundancy within the intonational system (it is considerable!), and the redundancy at the word level. (Most sequences of consonants and vowels have only one form that would be appropriate in any given context; in such instances the tone can be judged from the other cues in the word.)

Between pitch-points, where intonational pitch is contrastive and marked in full transcriptions, the intonational level tends to drift through intermediate values. A /´/ between one falling on /3/ and one falling on /2/ will be roughly intermediate.

3.7 Tone Tails

The syllable immediately after a tone onset (unless occupied by another onset) bears the tone tail. That is to say, its pitch is predictable from the tone and serves in a secondary way as a cue for recognition of the tone. It may be affected by following tone, but this effect is relatively minor.

The tail of a high tone /´/ tends to remain level if the next tone-bearing syllable is relatively high (also with /´/ or with a higher intonational pitch). Otherwise it may fall very slightly.

The tail of a mid tone /¯/ generally rises appreciably, though this rise is reduced if the next tone-bearing syllable is relatively low.

The tail of a low pitch rises even more than that of a mid tone.

If, however, a /+/ intervenes between onset and tail, the pitch contour of the whole tone is generally broken somewhat. In a high pitch the tail tends to be level, but often at a lower level than the end of the onset. The mid-tone tail generally rises, but may start from a lower level than the end of the onset, particularly if the next tone is relatively low. The tail of a low tone may be level or even slightly falling, and often starts from a higher level than the tone at the end of the onset syllable.

Tones of any other syllables have little if any function in signalling tones in the neighborhood.

3.8 Terminals

The three terminals are all realized as prolongation, or as slowing of the speech rhythm. The three are distinguishable by different effects on the tones.

The level terminal /,/ merely sustains the preceding syllable. The tonal contours are not appreciably different, otherwise, from what they would be in its absence.

The rising terminal / // / accentuates the up-glide in the previous tonal contour.

The falling terminal /#/ compresses the pitch range, lowering the high-tone contour and raising the low-tone contour.

The terminal contours delimit intonational spans. The latter consist of one or more intonational pitches and one terminal. /3/ can occur only once in any intonational span.

3.9 Intonation Contours

Eleven intonational contours of presumed morphemic status have been identified. They are listed here with examples and brief identifications of the types of meanings signalled.

1. /(2) 3 1 # / General statement with specific emphasis.

/$\overset{3}{\text{só}\underline{\text{n}}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{nē}}$ # /	'Sohan (did it).'
/$\overset{2}{\text{mǣ}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{phə̄}\underline{\text{r}}\text{ɪa}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{sī}}$ # /	'I caught (him).'
/$\overset{3}{\text{mó}\underline{\text{n}}}$ nē ónu $\overset{1}{\text{cūkkɪa}}$ # /	'Mohan lifted him.'
/$\overset{3}{\text{kī}}$ hāl $\overset{1}{\text{ā}}$ # /	'How are you?'

2. /(2) 3 2 # / Statement with general emphasis.

/$\overset{3}{\text{ōn}}$ neí meīnu $\overset{2}{\text{khə̄}\underline{\text{rn}}\text{a}}$ # /	'He won't take me along.'
/$\overset{3}{\text{bót}}$ mūrekh ē $\overset{2}{\text{ó}}$ # /	'He is a great fool.'
/$\overset{3}{\text{mǣ}}$ neí pé$\underline{\text{r}}$i é $\overset{2}{\text{ketāb}}$ # /	'I haven't read this book.'
/$\overset{3}{\text{neíu}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{jā}\underline{\text{n}}\text{a}}$ # /	'I won't go.'

3. /(2) 2 1 # / Statement without any emphasis.

2 1
/phĪr rāje nē ākhɪa # / 'Then the king said - '

2 2 1
/ejĪt dĪ cĪt̲t̲hi āi nū kĪnna Ī cĪr hō gɪā # /

'It is long since I received
a letter from Ajit.'

4. /(2) 3 2 // Question demanding an answer or a command.

2 3 2
/rāma šǽr gɪā // 'Did Rama go to the city?'

3 2
/wēkh khā̃ jēra // 'Just wait for a moment.'

3 2
/chēti kēr // 'Hurry up.'

5. /2 3 // General emphasis.

2 3
/pēñj tē cār nō // 'Five and four make nine.'

2 3
/pēñju cōka wí // 'Five times four (is) twenty.'

6. /2 2 // Surprise.

2 2
/wĪr // 'Was it brother?'

2 2
/jĪto // 'Was it Jito?'

2 2
/hæ̃ // 'Is it?'

7. /2 2 # / Vocative (independent).

2 2
/wīr # / 'Brother!'

2 2
/cāca jī # / 'Uncle, dear!'

2 2
/bāpu jī # / 'Father, dear!'

8. /(2) 2 , / Vocative (dependent).

2 2 3 2
/wīr , kītthe cēllɪã // / 'Brother, where are you going?'

2 2 2 3 1
/pàn̲ , mǣ šǽr cēllɪ˜a # / 'Sister, I am going to the city.'

9. /3 2 , / Incomplete, dependent.

10. /2 3 , / The difference between 9 and 10 is the shift of emphasis.

3 2 2 1
/món̲ nē kɪá sī , mǣ neí jān̲a # /

'M̲o̲h̲a̲n̲ said he won't go.

2 3 2 1
/món̲ nē kɪá sī , mǣ neí jān̲a # /

'Mohan s̲a̲i̲d̲ he won't go.'

11. /2 1 , / Incomplete, dependent.

2 1 2 2 1
/ó geē sēn , pēr óna ākhɪa kīse nū neí # /

'He went but he didn't ask anybody.'

CHAPTER 4

GURMUKHI ORTHOGRAPHY

4.1 General Notes

Panjabi is written by Sikhs, and by most others who use it in Bharat, in the Gurmukhi alphabet. It is much less frequently written in Pakistan, but there is usually written in the Persian script. Only the former is described in this chapter.

The name Gurmukhi, literally 'from the mouth of the Guru', refers to its use in the Granth Sahib, the sacred literature of the Sikhs. This is a collection of poems mostly in Old Panjabi, but including pieces in several other languages. The alphabet is also sometimes called ਪੈਂਤੀ /pæ̃nti/ 'the thirty-five', from the fact that the basic repertoire of consonant and consonant-like symbols numbers thirty-five.

Gurmukhi is written from left to right. The characters are normally aligned below the line of writing. The major symbols represent consonants. Vowels other than /ə/ are indicated by accessory symbols written around the consonant symbols. When a syllable begins with a vowel, a vowel bearer -- a consonant-like symbol indicating the absence of a consonant -- is used.

There are no separate symbols for tones, but the tones are generally clearly indicated by certain consonant signs. This is the major function of the signs for 'voiced aspirates', for h, and conjunct consonants including h. The use of these letters to indicate tones is often etymologically justified, and indeed tone probably has arisen from older /*h/ and voiced aspirates.

The presentation is in two parts. The first, sections 4.2 to 4.10, starts from the alphabet and written words and states reading rules which will lead to the correct pronunciation. The second, sections 4.12 and 4.13, starts from the phonemic system and states writing rules which will lead to correct spellings. Exceptions where either reading or spelling does not follow the stated rules are specified in sections 4.11 and 4.7.6.

There are fewer uncertainties and irregularities in either the reading or the spelling rules than are usual in languages of south Asia. For example, there is only one way to write homorganic nasal clusters, in contrast with the three that are available in Hindi तं न्त नत . The result is much less variation in spelling, and less uncertainty as to the correct spelling.

In many places comparison has been made with Devanagari as applied to Hindi. The systems are basically similar, but there are many interesting and significant differences. These are not simply in the form of the letters, but in the structure of the writing system. Most interesting differences are those in the writing of initial vowels, geminate clusters, other clusters, and of course the writing of tone.

As additional guidance in interpreting the orthographic rules, at many places transliterations have been given enclosed in ⟨ ⟩ . These follow the "dot-and-dash" system long traditional in South Asia. This is roughly the system of the Royal Asiatic Society.

4.2 The Alphabet

The thirty-five basic consonant or consonant-like graphs are as follows:

Form	Value	Value with Diacritic	Transliteration		Name	Devanagari Equivalent
ਕ	/k/		k		/kə̄kka/	क
ਖ	/kh/	/kh/	kh	k̲h̲	/khə̄kkha/	ख
ਗ	/g/	/g/	g	g̲h̲	/gə̄gga/	ग
ਘ	/kˋ ˊg gˋ/		gh		/kə̀gga/	घ
ਙ	/ŋ/		ṅ		/ŋə̄ŋa/	ङ
ਚ	/c/		c		/cə̄cca/	च
ਛ	/ch/		ch		/chə̄ccha/	छ
ਜ	/j/	/z/	j	z	/jə̄jja/	ज
ਝ	/cˋ ˊj jˋ/		jh		/cə̀jja/	झ
ਞ	/ñ/		ń		/ñə̄ña/	ञ
ਟ	/t̲/		ṭ		/t̲æ̃ŋka/	ट
ਠ	/t̲h/		ṭh		/t̲hə̄t̲t̲ha/	ठ
ਡ	/d̲/		ḍ		/d̲ə̄d̲a/	ड

Form	Value	Value with Diacritic	Transliteration	Name	Devanagari Equivalent
ਢ	/t̲ˋ ˊd̲ d̲ˋ/		ḍh	/t̲ə̀d̲d̲a/	ढ
ਣ	/n̲/		ṇ	/n̲án̲a/	ण
ਤ	/t/		t	/tə̄tta/	त
ਥ	/th/		th	/thə̄ttha/	थ
ਦ	/d/		d	/də̄dda/	द
ਧ	/tˋ ˊd dˋ/		dh	/tə̀dda/	ध
ਨ	/n/		n	/nə̄nna/	न
ਪ	/p/		p	/pə̄ppa/	प
ਫ	/ph/	/f/	ph f	/phə̄ppha/	फ
ਬ	/b/		b	/bə̄bba/	ब
ਭ	/pˋ ˊb bˋ/		bh	/pə̀bba/	भ
ਮ	/m/		m	/mə̄mma/	म
ਯ	/y/		y	/yə̄ya/	य
ਰ	/r/		r	/rára/	र
ਲ	/l l̲/		l	/lə̄lla/	ल
ਵ	/w/		w	/wə̄wwa/	व
ੜ	/r̲/		ṛ	/r̲ár̲a/	ड़
ਸ	/s/	/s̆/	s ś	/sə̄ssa/	स
ਹ	/h ˊ/		h	/háha/	ह
ੳ	none		not transliterated	/Ūr̲a/	उ
ਅ				/ǣr̲a/	अ
ੲ				/Īr̲i/	इ ~ ए

The basic alphabet is supplemented by the following letters with a dot diacritic. All but the first are used only in unassimilated loan words, mostly from Persian.

ਸ਼	/š/	ś	ष
ਜ਼	/z/	z	ज़
ਫ਼	/f/	f	फ़
ਖ਼	/kh/	kh	ख़
ਗ਼	/g/	gh	ग़

It should be noted that the names of these letters generally follow a pattern except as phonologic restrictions prevent. Even so, several contravene otherwise well-established restrictions. With some of these, there is some variation in pronunciation. /tãŋka/ resolves a conflict of homonyms.

For the multiple values of ⟨gh jh ḍh dh bh⟩, the 'voiced aspirates' see 4.7. For the values of ⟨h⟩ see 4.8. For the values of ⟨l⟩ see 4.10. For the use of the last three, ੳ ਅ ੲ , see 4.3.

Though distinguished in very careful writing, ਖ਼ ⟨kh⟩ and ਗ਼ ⟨gh⟩ are very seldom distinguished in speech, and hence are shown with the same phonemic equivalents.

4.3 Vowels and Accessory Signs

Vowels other than /ə/ are indicated by accessory signs written around (that is, below, above, to the right, and to the left) the consonant signs. When a vowel is not preceded by a consonant it is written with one of the three vowel bearers -- consonant-like signs indicating the absence of a consonant. In the following tabulation, the signs are shown alone, with the proper vowel bearer, and with the consonant ਕ ⟨k⟩.

Form			Name	Value	Trans-literation	Devanagari Equiv-alent
no sign	ਅ	ਕ	/mūkta/	/ə/ , nothing	a , nothing	no sign
ਾ	ਆ	ਕਾ	/kə̄nna/	/a/	ā	ा
ਿ	ਇ	ਕਿ	/sɪàri/	/ɪ e æ/	i	ि
ੀ	ਈ	ਕੀ	/bɪàri/	/i/	ī	ी
ੁ	ਉ	ਕੁ	/ə̄ŋkər̲/	/ʊ o ɔ/	u	ु
ੂ	ਊ	ਕੂ	/dʊlæ̃ŋkr̲e/	/u/	ū	ू
ੇ	ਏ	ਕੇ	/lā̃/	/e/	ē	े
ੈ	ਐ	ਕੈ	/dʊlāiā̃/	/æ/	ai	ै
ੋ	ਓ	ਕੋ	/hór̲a/	/o/	ō	ो
ੌ	ਔ	ਕੌ	/kənōr̲a/	/ɔ/	au	ौ
ੰ		ਕੰ	/t̲īppi/	/˜ ŋ ñ n̲ n m/	ṁ	
ਂ		ਕਂ	/bīndi/			ं ँ
ੱ		ੱਕ	/əddək/	gemination, high tone	gemination	conjunct

For the reading of letters without any vowel signs (that is, with /mūkta/) see 4.6. For the reading of ਿ /sɪàri/ and ੁ /ə̄ŋkər̲/ see 4.9.

The two signs for nasalization, ੰ /t̲īppi/ and ਂ /bīndi/, are in complementation. /t̲īppi/ is used with /ɪ e ʊ/ and with

/u/ when final. /bɪndi/ is used with /i e æ a ɔ o/ and with /u/ when not final. The combinations are as follows:

ਕੰ ਕਾਂ ਕਿੰ ਕੀਂ ਕੁੰ ਕੇਂ ਕੈਂ ਕੋਂ ਕੌਂ	final	ਕੂੰ
	non-final	ਕੂਂ

/t̲ɪppi/ and bɪndi/ represent nasalization when final, a homorganic nasal when followed by a consonant (see 2.9), and as a special case, gemination when followed by nasal consonants. (See 4.11 for certain unpredictable uses of these signs.)

/˜/	ਅਸਾਂ	⟨esāṁ⟩	/ə̄sã/	'us'
	ਤੋਂ	⟨tōṁ⟩	/tō̃/	'from'
	ਤੂੰ	⟨tūṁ⟩	/tū̃/	'you'
/n/	ਬੰਦਾ	⟨bandā⟩	/bə̄nda/	'man'
/n̲/	ਪਿੰਡ	⟨piṇḍ⟩	/pɪn̲d̲/	'village'
gem.	ਕੰਨਾ	⟨keṁnā⟩	/kə̄nna/	'the sign '
	ਕੰਮੀ	⟨keṁmī⟩	/kə̄mmi/	'laborer'

Gemination is written by the sign ˘ /ə̄ddek/ above and before the consonant to be doubled. Clusters of unaspirate stop plus homorganic aspirate stop are written by use of /ə̄ddek/ before the letter for the aspirate. The two geminates /nn/ and /mm/ are written with /t̲ɪppi/ (see above) in many cases, but may occasionally be seen spelled with /ə̄ddek/.

ੱਕ	/kk/	ਪੱਕੀ	⟨pakkī⟩	/pə̄kki/	'ripe'
ੱਖ	/kkh/	ਪੱਖੀ	⟨pakkhī⟩	/pə̄kkhi/	'fan'

/ə̄ddək/ is also written in certain situations where it does not represent gemination. Certain verb forms that have a geminate consonant in most cases are written with /ə̄ddək/ even when the consonant is one of those which cannot be doubled (see 2.12.2). As the tone must be on the vowel preceding /ə̄ddək/ these writings serve to indicate the place of tone in the word. Moreover, when 'voiced aspirates' following centralized vowels indicate a previous-high-tone, they are written with /ə̄ddək/. (For examples see 4.7.2-3.)

Certain stems are pronounced with geminate consonants when a vowel suffix follows,,but with a single final consonant in other instances. (Final geminates do not occur in Majhi.) These are commonly written with /ə̄ddək/ even when without a suffix. In this case, of course, the /ə̄ddək/ represents nothing in the pronunciation. (See 4.11.2)

ੱਚ /cc/ ਸੱਚ ⟨sacc⟩ /sə̄c/ 'truth'

The signs ੍ਹ, ੍ਰ, and ੍ਵ are modified forms of the consonants ਹ ⟨h⟩, ਰ ⟨r⟩, and ਵ ⟨w⟩. They are written below consonants, much like certain of the signs above. (See 4.5)

4.4 Numerals and Special Characters

Numerals are written in the same manner as in Devanagari or Western "Arabic" numeration. The symbols for the ten digits are as follows:

1 ੧ 2 ੨ 3 ੩ 4 ੪ 5 ੫
6 ੬ 7 ੭ 8 ੮ 9 ੯ 0 ੦

The sign : is used to mark abbreviations. Abbreviation is not very extensively used. The following are examples:

ਪ੍ਰੋ:	for	ਪ੍ਰੋਫੈਸਰ	'Professor'	/perōpheser/
ਡਾ:	for	ਡਾਕਟਰ	'Doctor'	/ḏākṯer/

There are only two marks of punctuation in older Gurmukhi. One, । , is used to mark the end of major units, sentences, in prose. The other, ॥ , is used to mark the end of verses in poetry. The two are not used together in the same passage.

In modern printed books punctuation of the English type is used, except that । is used instead of the period. There is no standardization of practice other than that provided by the English models.

4.5 Conjunct Consonants and Clusters

Only three types of conjunct consonants are used. In all cases a modified form of the second consonant is subjoined to the unaltered form of the first.

In the first type, ੍ਹ a form of ਹ ⟨h⟩, is subjoined. The pronunciation of the consonant, as a consonant, is not changed in any way, but the conjunct indicates a tonal distinction (see 4.5). The following are common combinations:

Base	Form with ੍ਹ	Transliteration	Values	Devanagari Equivalent	Example		
ੜ	ੜ੍ਹ	⟨ṛh⟩	/r̲` ´r̲/	ढ़	ਪੱੜ੍ਹ	/pə́r̲/	'study'
ਨ	ਨ੍ਹ	⟨nh⟩	/n` ´n/	न्ह	ਨ੍ਹੇਰ	/nèr/	'darkness'
ਲ	ਲ੍ਹ	⟨lh⟩	/l` ´l/	ल्ह	ਲ੍ਹਾ	/là/	'stir'
ਮ	ਮ੍ਹ	⟨mh⟩	/m` ´m/	म्ह	ਮ੍ਹੈਂਸ	/mæ̃s/	'buffalo'

Others of this type are less frequent and generally restricted to the representation of colloquial or dialectal forms in dialog. The following are rpresentative:

ਡ	ਡ੍ਹ	⟨ḍh⟩	/d̲`/	ड्ह	ਡ੍ਹਾ	/d̲à/	'water cattle'
ਬ	ਬ੍ਹ	⟨bh⟩	/b`/	ब्ह	ਬ੍ਹਾ	/bà/	'make sit'

In the second type of conjunct, ੍ਰ a form of ਰ ⟨r⟩, is subjoined to certain consonants, most commonly stops. These occur only in tatsamas, mostly learned or religious terms. In initial position they are pronounced with /ə/ between the consonants. A few educated people, speaking very formally and carefully, occasionally pronounce these as initial clusters. The following are some examples:

ਪ੍ਰ	⟨pr⟩	/pər/	प्र	ਪ੍ਰੀਤ	/pərīt/	'love'
ਕ੍ਰ	⟨kr⟩	/kər/	क्र	ਕ੍ਰਮ	/kərə̄m/	'action'
ਸ਼੍ਰ	⟨śr⟩	/šər/	श्र	ਸ਼੍ਰਮ	/šərə̄m/	'effort'

In the third type of conjunct ੍ਵ a form of ਵ ⟨w⟩ is subjoined. Only the following word is at all usual, though others are found in older literature, particularly when highly Sanskritized.

ਸ੍ਵ ‹sw› /səw/ स्व ਸ੍ਵਰ /səwər̄/ 'tune'

Clusters with homorganic nasals are written as sequences of nasalized vowel and consonant. (See 4.3)

Geminate clusters are written by the sign ˘ /əddək/ written over and just before the letter to be doubled.

Other clusters are written by two separate consonant signs without any special indication that they form a cluster. Whether sequences of consonant symbols without indication of intervening vowels are to be read as clusters or with /ə/ can only be determined on the basis of general patterns for whole words. The rules are given in 4.6.

4.6 Unwritten Vowels

The vowel /ə/ is not indicated by any sign of its own. Final consonants and first members of clusters are written by the consonant letter alone. A vowelless consonant letter may, therefore, represent either a consonant alone or a consonant plus a following /ə/. The correct reading can be determined only from the total word pattern. The following rules will cover most cases.

The rules overlap but do not conflict. No attempt has been made to reduce them to the shortest possible set. Rather every rule that is thought to be helpful has been included. They should, however, be applied in the order given. In particular, rule 14 must be applied after all others that are relevant.

For the presentation of this section only, a different type of transliteration will be used. This will write - at every place where a decision must be made between /ə/ and now vowel, that is, after the transliteration of every vowelless letter. Moreover /ə̄ddək/ (gemination) will be transliterated by " before the doubled consonant.

1. All initial vowelless letters are to be read with following /ə/. This is a consequence of the fact that there are no initial clusters in Panjabi. (See 2.12).

ਚਰੀ	⟨c-ri⟩	/cə̄ri/	'grazed'
ਪਰੀ	⟨p-ri⟩	/pə̄ri/	'fairy'
ਕਣੀ	⟨k-n̲i⟩	/kə̄n̲i/	'drop'

2. All final vowelless letters are to be read without /ə/. This is a consequence of the fact that disyllabic and longer words never end in /ɪ ə ʊ/. (See 2.12).

ਚੁਕ	⟨cʊk-⟩	/cʊ̄k/	'lift'
ਯਾਰ	⟨yar-⟩	/yār/	'friend'
ਸਚ	⟨s-c-⟩	/sə̄c/	'truth' (also rule 1)
ਰਤ	⟨r-t-⟩	/rə̄t/	'blood' (also rule 1)
ਲਕੀਰ	⟨l-kɪ̄r-⟩	/ləkɪ̄r/	'line' (also rule 1)
ਫਕੀਰ	⟨ph-kɪ̄r-⟩	/phəkɪ̄r/	'fakir'

Rule 1 takes precedence over rule 2 in the two instances of words spelled with a single vowelless letter. See 2.12.

ਕ	⟨k-⟩	/kə̄/	'about'
ਚ	⟨c-⟩	/cə̄/	'in'

Rule 2 applies even when a final vowelless letter is written with /ə̄ddək/. In this instance, the /ə̄ddək/ is to be disregarded. (See 4.11.4)

ਕੱਚ ⟨kacc⟩ /kə̄c/ 'glass'

3. 'Voiced aspirates' written with /ə̄ddək/ and without a vowel, can be read as forming a cluster with the following consonant, and the /ə̄ddək/ disregarded. In this position ˘ /ə̄ddək/ merely signals that the 'voiced aspirate' indicates a preceding tone. (See 4.7.2-3)

ਬੱਝਦਾ ⟨bajjhdā⟩ /bə́jda/ 'being tied'

4. All letters with /ə̄ddək/, the mark of gemination, must be read with a vowel and all letters preceding a letter with /ə̄ddək/ must be read with a vowel. If none is written, /ə/ is supplied. This is a consequence of the fact that there are no clusters of three or more consonants except those containing nasals. (See 2.14)

ਗੱਚਕ	⟨g-"c-k-⟩	/gə̄ccək/	'a candy' /ə/ supplied on both sides.
ਵੱਟਕ	⟨w-"ṭ-k-⟩	/wə̄ṯṯək/	'sale'
ਪੁੱਤਰ	⟨pu"t-r-⟩	/pūttər/	'son' /ə/ supplied after /əddək/
ਕੁੱਛੜ	⟨ku"chdṛ-⟩	/kūcchəṛ/	'lap'
ਪੱਕੀ	⟨p-"kī⟩	/pə̄kki/	'ripe' /ə/ supplied before /edduk/
ਕੱਕੀ	⟨k-"kī⟩	/kə̄kki/	'brown'

5. The vowel-bearer ਅ , indicating the lack of a consonant, must always be read with a vowel, /ə/ if none is written, except when final after ਾ (see 4.13).

ਅਸੀਂ	⟨O-siṁ⟩	/ə̃sĩ/	"we"
ਅੰਦਰ	⟨O-ṁd-r⟩	/ə̃ndər/	'inside'
ਵਿਅੰਗ	⟨wiO-ṁg-⟩	/wɪə̃ŋg/	'trick'

6. A vowelless letter before any of the vowel-bearers, ੳ ਅ ੲ , must be read with /ə/. This is a consequence of the use of the vowel-bearers to write vowels that are not after consonants (see 4.3).

ਲਏ	l-Oē	/ləē/	'took'

7. Any initial conjunct consonant with ⟨r⟩ as subjoined element must be read with a following /ə/. Further, /ə/ must be inserted before the /r/.

ਕ੍ਰਮ	⟨kr-m-⟩	/kərə̄m/	'action'

Note the following spelling would have a different pronunciation:

ਕਰਮ	⟨k-r-m-⟩	/kə̄rm/	(see rule 9)

8. Initial ਹ ⟨h⟩ must be followed by a vowel like all other initial consonants. Medial or final ਹ ⟨h⟩, however, is not pronounced as a consonant, and must be overlooked in placing /ə/. When medial ਹ ⟨h⟩ bears a vowel -- ਿ or ੁ -- and follows a vowelless letter, the whole is to be read as /ǽ/ or /ó/ following the consonant represented by the vowelless letter. For examples see 4.9

9. Two final vowelless letters are read with /e/ between if either is preceded by an indicator of nasalization (ˆ /t̲īppi/ or ˙ /bīndi/). This is a consequence of the fact that these marks before a consonant represent a homorganic nasal. If /e/ were not read, the result would be a three-member final consonant cluster. There are no such in Panjabi (see 2.13).

ਸੰਗਮ	⟨s-m̂g-m-⟩	/sēŋgem/	'union'	(also rules 1 and 2)
ਮੰਦਰ	⟨m-ṁd-r-⟩	/mēnder/	'temple'	
ਅੰਦਰ	⟨0-ṁd-r-⟩	/ēnder/	'inside'	(also rules 2 and 4)

10. Two final vowelless letters are read as a cluster if 1) they form a permitted final cluster (see 2.13), and 2) they are preceded by a vowelless letter or a letter with ਿ ⟨i⟩ or ੁ ⟨u⟩. This rule is a consequence of the fact that most final consonants are found only after centralized vowels.

ਵਰਤ	⟨w-r-t-⟩	/wērt/	'fast'	(also rule 1 and 2)
ਬਚਤ	⟨b-c-t-⟩	/bēct/	'save'	
ਕਲਪ	⟨k-l-p-⟩	/kēl̲p/	'wail'	
ਕਣਕ	⟨k-ṇ-k-⟩	/kēn̲k/	'wheat'	
ਮਿਰਚ	⟨mir-c-⟩	/mīrc/	'pepper'	(also rule 2)
ਚੁਰਟ	⟨cur-ṭ-⟩	/cūrt̲/	'a drug'	
ਪਰਸਤ	⟨p-r-s-t⟩	/perēst/	'worshipper'	

11. Two final vowelless letters are read with /e/ between if they form an unpermitted consonant cluster. (See 2.13)

ਪਦਮ	⟨p-d-m⟩	/pə̄dem/	'a flower' (also rules 1 and 2)
ਖਤਮ	⟨kh-t-m⟩	/khə̄tem/	'finished'
ਸਾਗਰ	⟨sāg- r-⟩	/sāger/	'ocean'
ਸ਼ਸਤਰ	⟨ś-s-t-r-⟩	/šə̄ster/	'arms'

12. Two final vowelless letters are read with /e/ between if they are preceded by a peripheral vowel, except when the two final vowelless letters are one of the few clusters permitted in this position /st št št̲/.

ਪਾਲਕ	⟨pāl-k-⟩	/pālek/	'spinch' (also rule 2)
ਚਾਦਰ	⟨cād-r-⟩	/cāder/	'sheet'
ਕਾਲਖ	⟨kāl-kh-⟩	/kālekh/	'blackness'
ਆਖਰ	⟨Oākh-r-⟩	/ākher/	'after all'

13. Two final vowelless letters are read as a cluster, even after peripheral vowels, if they are one of the following sequences /st št št̲/.

ਪੋਸਤ	⟨pōs-t-⟩	/pōst/	'a drug'
ਗੋਸ਼ਤ	⟨gōś-t-⟩	/gōšt/	'meat'
ਗੋਸ਼ਟ	⟨gōś-ṭ-⟩	/gōšt̲/	'dialog'

14. Any vowelless letter in any position bearing /t̲īppi/ must be read with a following /e/.

ਚਲੰਤ	⟨c-l-ṁt-⟩	/cel̲ə̄nt/	'unstable' (also rules 1 and 2)
ਪੰਦਰਾਂ	⟨p-ṁd-rāṁ⟩	/pə̄ndrā̃/	'fifteen'
ਗੰਦਲਾਂ	⟨g-ṁd-lāṁ⟩	/gə̄ndlā̃/	'sprouts'
ਚੰਡਾਲ	⟨c-ṁd̲al⟩	/cen̲d̲āl/	'rougue'

15. Any remaining vowelless letter will be read with /e/ if the following letter is the first member of a cluster, and without /e/ if the following letter has a vowel after it, either written or a /e/ supplied by any of the above rules.

ਪਰਸਤ	⟨p-r-s-t-⟩		per-st (by rules 1, 2, 10)
		/perə̄st/	'worshiper' (/e/ before a cluster)
ਸ਼ਸਤਰ	⟨š̆-s-t-ŕ⟩		śes-ter (by rules 1, 2, 11)
		/š̆ə̄ster/	'arms' (no vowel before /te/)
ਦੋਸਤੀ	⟨dōs-tī⟩	/dōsti/	'friendship'
ਜੋਤਸ਼ੀ	⟨jōt-śī⟩	/jōtš̆i/	'palmist'
ਸੜਕਾਂ	⟨s-ṛ-kām̊⟩	/śə̄r̲kā̃/	'roads'
ਪਰਵਾਰ	⟨p-r-wār-⟩	/pə̄rwar/	'family' (also rules 1 and 2)
ਕਰਤਾਰ	⟨k-r-tār-⟩	/kə̄rtar/	'creator'

Clusters resulting from this rule consist of one syllable final consonant and one syllable initial consonant. For this reason there is no significant restriction on the possible sequences.

4.7 "Voiced Aspirates"

The five 'voiced aspirates' of the alphabet, ਘ ਝ ਢ ਧ ਭ ⟨gh jh ḍh dh bh⟩, so called because they occupy the same place in the alphabetic order as Devanagari घ झ ढ ध भ and are cognate to the latter, and the various conjuncts with ਹ ⟨h⟩ have parallel reading rules. The consonantal values of

⟨gh jh ḍh dh bh⟩ are /k c t̲ t p/ when initial and /g j d̲ t b/ when medial or final. The consonantal values of ਨ੍ਹ ਲ੍ਹ ੜ੍ਹ nh lh ṛh etc. are always that of the base consonant, /n l r̲/. In addition, all these mark low or high tone on an adjacent vowel. The following rules give the tonal readings.

1. In initial position in the word, the 'voiced aspirates' indicate low tone on the first syllable. See below for exceptions.

ਘ	⟨gh⟩	ਘੋੜਾ	⟨ghōṛā⟩	/kòr̲a/	'horse'
ਝ	⟨jh⟩	ਝਾੜੂ	⟨jhāṛū⟩	/càr̲u/	'broom'
ਢ	⟨ḍh⟩	ਢੋਲ	⟨ḍhōl⟩	/t̲òl̲/	'drum'
ਧ	⟨dh⟩	ਧੋਬੀ	⟨dhōbī⟩	/tòbi/	'washerman'
ਭ	⟨bh⟩	ਭਾਈ	⟨bhāī⟩	/pài/	'brother'
ਨ੍ਹ	⟨nh⟩	ਨ੍ਹਾ	⟨nhā⟩	/nà/	'bathe'
ਲ੍ਹ	⟨lh⟩	ਲ੍ਹਾਈ	⟨lhāī⟩	/lài/	'grace'
ਮ੍ਹ	⟨mh⟩	ਮ੍ਹੀਨ	⟨mhīṇ⟩	/mìn̲/	'delicate'

2. In final position, the 'voiced aspirates' indicate high tone on the preceding vowel (the last syllable). These are written with ˘ /ə̄ddək/ if following a centralized vowel, except that ⟨nh⟩ and ⟨mh⟩ are written with ° /t̲īppi/.

ਘ	⟨gh⟩	ਮੱਘ	⟨maggh⟩	/mə́g/	'pitcher'
ਝ	⟨jh⟩	ਮੱਝ	⟨majjh⟩	/mə́j/	'buffalo'
ਢ	⟨ḍh⟩	ਮੁੱਢ	⟨muḍḍh⟩	/múd̲/	'roots'
ਧ	⟨dh⟩	ਦੁੱਧ	⟨dūddh⟩	/dúd/	'milk'
ਭ	⟨bh⟩	ਲਾਭ	⟨lābh⟩	/láb/	'profit'

ਨ੍ਹ	⟨nh⟩	ਬੰਨ੍ਹ	⟨bannh⟩	/bén/	'bind'
ੜ੍ਹ	⟨ṛh⟩	ਚੱੜ੍ਹ	⟨caṛṛh⟩	/cér̲/	'climb'
ਮ੍ਹ	⟨mh⟩	ਥੰਮ੍ਹ	⟨thammh⟩	/thém/	'pillar'

3. In medial position and marked with ˘ /ēddek/ (or ˚ /t̲īppi/ in the case of ਨ੍ਹ ⟨nh⟩ and ਮ੍ਹ ⟨mh⟩), the 'voiced aspirates' indicate high tone on the preceding vowel. With ੜ੍ਹ ⟨r̲h⟩, and ਰ੍ਹ ⟨rh⟩, which cannot be geminate, the ˘ /ēddek/ merely indicates that the tone precedes.

ਘ	⟨gh⟩	ਬੱਘੀ	⟨bagghi⟩	/béggi/	'buggy'
ਝ	⟨jh⟩	ਬੱਝੀ	⟨bajjhī⟩	/béjji/	'tied'
ਢ	⟨ḍh⟩	ਵੱਢੀ	⟨wad̲d̲hi⟩	/wéd̲d̲i/	'cut'
ਧ	⟨dh⟩	ਬੱਧੀ	⟨baddhā⟩	/bédda/	'tied'
ਭ	⟨bh⟩	ਲੱਭੀ	⟨labbhi⟩	/lébbi/	'found'
ਨ੍ਹ	⟨nh⟩	ਅੱਨ੍ਹਾ	⟨annha⟩	/énna/	'blind man'
ਮ੍ਹ	⟨mh⟩				
ਲ੍ਹ	⟨lh⟩	ਕੱਲ੍ਹੀ	⟨kallhi⟩	/kélli/	'alone'
ੜ੍ਹ	⟨ṛh⟩	ਪੱੜ੍ਹੀ	⟨paṛṛhi⟩	/pér̲i/	'educated'
ਰ੍ਹ	⟨rh⟩	ਵੱਰ੍ਹਾ	⟨warrha⟩	/wéra/	'year'

When the 'voiced aspirate' with /ēddek/ or /t̲īppi/ has no vowel, and is followed by a consonant with a vowel, there is no gemination even with consonants which can be pronounced double.

ਘ	⟨gh⟩	ਮੱਘਦਾ	⟨magghda⟩	/mégda/	'lit'
ਝ	⟨jh⟩	ਬੁੱਝਦਾ	⟨bujjhda⟩	/bújda/	'extinguishing'
ਢ	⟨ḍh⟩	⟨ਵੱਢਦਾ⟩	⟨waḍḍhda⟩	/wéd̲da/	'cutting'
ਧ	⟨dh⟩	ਵੱਧਦਾ	⟨waddhda⟩	/wédda/	'increasing'

ਭ	⟨bh⟩	ਲੱਭਦਾ	⟨labbhda⟩	/lə́bda/	'finding'
ਨ੍ਹ	⟨nh⟩	ਬੱਨ੍ਹਦਾ	⟨bannhda⟩	/bə́nda/	'binding'
ੜ੍ਹ	⟨ṛh⟩	ਚੱੜ੍ਹਦਾ	⟨caṛṛhda⟩	/cə́r̲da/	'rising'

4. In medial position after a peripheral vowel and with only a single vowel following, the 'voiced aspirates' indicate high tone on the preceding vowel (the penultimate and usually the first syllable).

ਘ	⟨gh⟩	ਮਾਘੀ	⟨māghi⟩	/mági/	'Maghi'
ਝ	⟨jh⟩	ਮਾਝੀ	⟨mājhī⟩	/máji/	'Majhi dialect'
ਢ	⟨ḍh⟩	ਵਾਢੀ	⟨wāḍhī⟩	/wád̲i/	'harvest'
ਧ	⟨dh⟩	ਵਾਧੂ	⟨wādhū⟩	/wádu/	'extra'
ਭ	⟨bh⟩	ਨਾਭਾ	⟨nābhā⟩	/nába/	'Nabha'

5. In medial position after a centralized vowel and followed by a peripheral vowel, and not marked with ੱ /ə̄ddək/ (or ੰ /t̲īppi/), the 'voiced aspirates' indicate low tone on the following vowel. In one type this is usually the penultimate syllable:

ਘ	⟨gh⟩	ਪਘਾਰਨਾ	⟨paghārnā⟩	/pəgàrna/	'to melt'
ਝ	⟨jh⟩	ਸੁਝਾਇਆ	⟨sugjāiā⟩	/sujàɪa/	'pointed out'
ਢ	⟨ḍh⟩	ਵਢਾਇਆ	⟨waḍhāiā⟩	/wəd̲àɪā/	'cut'
ਧ	⟨dh⟩	ਸਿਧਾਇਆ	⟨sidhāiā⟩	/sɪdàɪa/	'discipline'
ਭ	⟨bh⟩	ਲਭਾਇਆ	⟨labhāiā⟩	/ləbàɪa/	'helped find'
ਨ੍ਹ	⟨nh⟩	ਬਨ੍ਹਾਇਆ	⟨banhāiā⟩	/bənàɪa/	'had fastened'

In disyllabic words, the tone comes on the ultimate syllable. When this ends in /a/ a ਅ (a vowel bearer) is sometimes added.

ੜ	<rh>	ਵੜ੍ਹਾਅ	<warha>	/wərà/	'make rain'

4.8 The Letter ਹ.

The letter ਹ<h> represents the phoneme /h/ when initial.

ਹਰੀ	<harī>	/hə́ri/	'green'
ਹੁਣੇ	<huṇē>	/hūn̲e/	'now'
ਹੌਲੀ	<haulī>	/hōl̲i/	'slowly'

Non-initial ਹ <h> normally has no consonantal value, but represents high tone /´/ on the preceding vowel. In this use, ਹ h follows peripheral vowels only.

ਤੀਹ	<tīh>	/tí/	'thirty'
ਰਾਹ	<rāh>	/rá/	'path'
ਤੀਹਰਾ	<tīhrā>	/tíra/	'threefold'
ਕਾਹਰਾ	<kāhrā>	/kára/	'onefold'
ਚਾਹਿਆ	<cāhiā>	/cáɪa/	'desired'
ਰਿਹਾ	<rīhā>	/ría/	'stayed'

In a few learned words, medial ਹ h is pronounced /h/ in formal speech by educated speakers, though for most this is somewhat artificial. In general, the words concerned are learned and not used at all in colloquial speech.

ਅਹਿੰਸਾ	<ahiṁsā>	/əhīnsa/	'ahimsa'
ਕਹਾਣੀ	<kahāṇī>	/kəhān̲i/	'story'

The last has a colloquial equivalent /kàni/. This is homophonous with ghānī 'mud'. All such learned words with /ə/ before ਹ and with a peripheral vowel following are pronounced colloquially with low tone.

The letter ਹ ⟨h⟩ in a secondary form ੍ਹ is used to form conjuncts (see 4.5). These are used to indicate tone. See 4.7 for the reading rules.

4.9 The Vowels ਿ and ੁ

The vowel signs ਿ /sɪàni/ and ੁ /õŋkər̲/ are normally /ɪ/ and /ʊ/, but may have other values when in the vicinity of ਹ ⟨h⟩. The rules are exactly parallel for the two:

Before ਹ h these represent /é/ and /ó/. The ਹ ⟨h⟩, as always in medial position (see 5.8), has no consonantal value but indicates high tone:

ਕੁਹੜਾ	⟨ kuhṛā ⟩	/kór̲a/	'leper'
ਕਿਹੜਾ	⟨ kihr̲ā ⟩	/kér̲a/	'who?'

When written with ਹ ⟨h⟩ and following a vowelless letter, these represent /ǽ/ and /ó/ pronounced immediately after the previous letter.

ਵਹੁਟੀ	⟨ whuṭī ⟩	/wót̲i/	'bride'
ਕਹਿਣਾ	⟨ khiṇa ⟩	/kǽn̲a/	'to say'

When written finally with the vowel bearer, ੁ /õŋker/ represents /o/.

ਲਿਉ	⟨liu⟩	/lɪõ/	'take!'
ਪਿਉ	⟨piu⟩	/pɪõ/	'father'

In all other places, the normal reading for ਿ /sɪàri/ and ੁ /õŋker̲/ are /ɪ/ and /ʊ/.

ਕੁੱਤਾ	⟨ kuttā ⟩	/kũtta/	'dog'
ਕਿਸ	⟨kis⟩	/kīs/	'who?'

ਹੁਣੇ	⟨huṇē⟩	/hūn̲e/	'how'
ਹਿੱਸਾ	⟨hɪssā⟩	/hīssa/	'section'

4.10 The Letter ਲ

Gurmukhi has only one lateral ਲ ⟨l⟩. This is used to spell both /l/ and /l̲/. A proposal has been made to distinguish ਲ਼ ⟨ḷ⟩ from ਲ ⟨l⟩ by adding a dot diacritic like that used to distinguish ਸ਼ ⟨š⟩ from ਸ ⟨s⟩. This however has met with no acceptance, and is seldom if ever used.

/l̲/ does not occur initially. ਲ ⟨l⟩ in initial position is therefore always /l/. /l̲/ is much more frequent than /l/ in clusters, so that these occurrences can generally be read /l̲/. Beyond these suggestions, no rules can be given to distinguish. There are some homographic minimal pairs:

ਪਾਲੀ	⟨pālī⟩	/pāli/	'name of a girl'
ਪਾਲੀ	⟨pālī⟩	/pāl̲i/	'brought up'
ਖਾਲੀ	⟨khālī⟩	/khāli/	'empty'
ਖਾਲੀ	⟨khālī⟩	/khāl̲i/	'stream'

4.11 Irregular and Morphophonemic Writings

The overwhelming majority of words are spelled strictly according to the rules and can be read with no difficulty. There are, however, three classes of writings that deserve comment: regular but unusual spellings, irregular spellings, and morphophonemic spellings.

1. Regular but unusual spellings are those which follow extensions of the regular rules to cover rather infrequent patterns. Words with initial voiced stops followed by low tone are very rare if they exist at all in the standard speech. There are, however, some such words in some dialects. In novels and short stories such words occasionally appear in dialogue. They are written by extending the analogy of words like /nà/ 'bathe', where the low tone is represented by a ੍ਹ ⟨h⟩ subjoined to the ਨ ⟨n⟩. The same mark is subjoined to ਡ ⟨d̲⟩ and ਬ ⟨b⟩ in the following. (The 'voiced aspirates' cannot be used as in initial position they are pronounced as voiceless.) (See 4.5)

ਡ੍ਹਾ	⟨d̲,hā⟩	/d̲à/	'water cattle'
ਬ੍ਹਾ	⟨b,hā⟩	/bà/	'make to sit'

2. Irregular spellings are ones in which the tone is not indicated according to the rules. There are a few words with initial 'voiced aspirates', which by the rules (see 4.7) should have low tone on the first syllable, but which are usually pronounced with low tone on the second syllable. These are presumably the result of change since the establishment of the spellings.

ਧਰੇਕ	⟨dharēk⟩	/tərèk/	'a kind of tree'
ਭੰਡਾਰ	⟨bhaṁḍār⟩	/pən̲d̲àr/	'treasury'

Another group of words have high tone, but this is not written. Most often these end in clusters beginning with /l̲/. They would be expected to have a ਹ ⟨h⟩ to mark high tone (see 4.8).

ਬਲਦ	⟨bald⟩	/bél̲d/	'bull'
ਗਿਲਜ	⟨gilj⟩	/gíl̲j/	'eagle'

3. In a few instances, non-phonemic nasalization is written with /t̲ĩppi/ or /bĩndi/. Two very common and important words are so written:

ਮੈਂ	⟨maiṁ⟩	/mæ̃/	'I'
ਨੂੰ	⟨nūṁ⟩	/nũ/	'to'

Moreover, /nũ/ retains this spelling when it loses its tone and becomes a suffix on two pronouns:

ਮੈਨੂੰ	⟨mainūṁ⟩	/meĩnu/	'to me'
ਸਾਨੂੰ	⟨sānūṁ⟩	/sãnu/	'to you'

The suffix /-ã/ of the oblique plural is always written with /bĩndi/. When suffixed to a stem ending in a nasal, the nasalization becomes predictable and need not be written. However, the /bĩndi/ always remains. In a few cases this has the incidental effect of distinguishing homophones:

ਕੰਨਾਂ	⟨kaṁnāṁ⟩	/kə̃nna/	'ears'
ਕੰਨਾ	⟨kannā⟩	/kə̃nna/	'the sign'

There are a few instances where the /bĩndi/ seems to be written arbitrarily to distinguish homophones:

ਨਾਂ	⟨nāṁ⟩	/nã/	'name'	
ਨਾ	⟨nā⟩	/nã/	'no'	
ਸਮਾਂ	⟨samāṁ⟩	/sə̃ma/	'time'	[sə̃mã]
ਸਮਾ	⟨samā⟩	/səmã/	'spread'	[səmã]

In the latter case there is a phonetic difference, in that nasalization is not automatic in final syllables bearing mid tone in disyllables.

4. Some monosyllables are written as though having final gemination. Some western dialects seem to pronounce double consonants in this position, and the spellings may have originated here. In any case, these forms do have geminates before suffixes:

ਹੱਥ	⟨hatth⟩	/hə̄th/	'hand'	cf. /hə̄tth˜a/	'hands'
ਚੰਨ	⟨caṁn⟩	/cə̄n/	'moon'	/cə̄nn˜a/	'moons'

5. Morphophonemic spellings are ones in which the stem is spelled as in the base form even in inflectional forms in which it is subject to change. A number of verbal forms are regularly so written. Stems ending in /a/ under some circumstances alter this to /ɔ/ before suffixes (see 5.25). The /a/ is written in the regular way as ਾ , but the change is indicated by adding ਉ ⟨u⟩. As the sequence /au/ does not occur, there is no difficulty in reading.

ਆਉਣਾ	⟨āuṇā⟩	/ɔ̄n̲a/	'to come'	from /a-/ + /-n̲a/
ਪਾਉਣਾ	⟨pāuṇā⟩	/pɔ̄n̲a/	'to put'	/pa-/ + /-n̲a/
ਪੌਣਾ	⟨pauṇā⟩	/pɔ̄n̲a/	'three quarters'	

Certain vowel changes are not indicated at all. In certain forms /æ/ becomes /ei/.

ਲੈਣਾ	⟨lainā⟩	/leɪna/	'take'	from /læ̃/

This also occurs in a few pronoun forms:

ਮੈਨੂੰ	⟨mainū⟩	/meɪnu/	'to me'	from /mæ̃/

In certain forms /ə/ becomes /əu/. These are generally forms in which the base form has /a/ which becomes /ə/ as described above.

ਪਾਉਂਦਾ	⟨pāuṁdā⟩	/pəũnda/	'putting' cf. /pə̄n̲a/ 'to put'

6. Tone is also spelled morphophonemically in many verb forms. That is, the stem is spelled the same even when tonal changes occur. For example, many verbs have high tone in the imperative and future, but not in the base form. This high tone is not indicated.

ਜਾਣਾ	⟨jāṇā⟩	/jān̲a/	'to go'
ਜਾਉ	⟨jāō⟩	/jáo/	'go!'
ਜਾਉਂਗਾ	⟨jāũṁgā⟩	/jáuŋga/	'shall go'

4.12. Spellings for Consonants

1. The following consonants have one spelling apiece:

/kh/	ਖ	⟨kh⟩	/khə̄l/	ਖਲ	'skin'
/ch/	ਛ	⟨ch⟩	/chə̄d̲/	ਛਡ	'leave'
/t̲h/	ਠ	⟨ṭh⟩	/t̲hə̄p/	ਠਪ	'cover'
/th/	ਥ	⟨th⟩	/thə̄l/	ਥਲ	'desert'
/ph/	ਫ	⟨ph⟩	/phə̄l/	ਫਲ	'fruit'
/l/	ਲ	⟨l⟩	/lə̄kh/	ਲਖ	'lakh'
/l̲/	ਲ	⟨l⟩	/pə̄l̲/	ਪਲ	'moment'
/r/	ਰ	⟨r⟩	/rə̄t/	ਰਤ	'blood'
/r̲/	ੜ	⟨ṛ⟩	/rə̄r̲k/	ਰੜਕ	'pain'
/s/	ਸ	⟨s⟩	/sə̄t/	ਸਤ	'seven'

/š/	ਸ਼	⟨ s ⟩	/šə̄r/	ਸ਼ੇਰ	'lion'
/z/	ਜ਼	⟨ z ⟩	/zə̄r/	ਜ਼ਰ	'wealth'
/f/	ਫ਼	⟨ f ⟩	/fə̄n/	ਫ਼ਨ	'art'
/y/	ਯ	⟨ y ⟩	/yā̆d/	ਯਾਦ	'memory'
/w/	ਵ	⟨ w ⟩	/wə̄l/	ਵਲ	'toward'
/h/	ਹ	⟨ h ⟩	/hə̄l/	ਹਲ	'plow'

2. The following consonants have two spellings apiece, one when initial before a low tone, the other in all other positions.

/k/	ਕ	⟨ k ⟩	/kə̄r/	ਕਰ	'do'
	ਘ	⟨ gh ⟩	/kèr̲/	ਘੜ	'chisel'
/c/	ਚ	⟨ c ⟩	/cə̄b/	ਚੱਬ	'bite'
	ਝ	⟨ jh ⟩	/cèr̲/	ਝੜ	'cloudy'
/t̲/	ਟ	⟨ ṭ ⟩	/t̲ə̄p/	ਟਪ	'jump'
	ਢ	⟨ ḍh ⟩	/t̲èk/	ਢਕ	'cover'
/t/	ਤ	⟨ t ⟩	/tə̄n/	ਤਨ	'body'
	ਧ	⟨ dḥ ⟩	/tèr/	ਧਰ	'put'
/p/	ਪ	⟨ p ⟩	/pə̄r/	ਪਰ	'but'
	ਭ	⟨ bh ⟩	/pèr/	ਭਰ	'fill'

3. The following consonants have two spellings apiece, one when following a high tone or preceding a low tone (not in the first syllable), and one in all other environments. Examples are given of all three environments:

/g/	ਗ	⟨ g ⟩	/gol̲i/	ਗੋਲ਼ੀ	'bullet'
	ਘ	⟨ gh ⟩	/mági/	ਮਾਘੀ	'first day of Magh'
			/pəgàr/	ਪਘਾਰ	'melting'

/j/	ਜ	⟨ j ⟩	/jə̄ldi/	ਜਲਦੀ	'quick'
	ਝ	⟨ jh ⟩	/mája/	ਮਾਝੀ	'Majhi'
			/məjæ̀l/	ਮਝੈਲ	'Majhail'
/d̲/	ਡ	⟨ d̲ ⟩	/d̲ə̄r/	ਡਰ	'fear'
	ਢ	⟨ d̲h ⟩	/mód̲i/	ਮੋਢੀ	'leading'
			/wəd̲àɪa/	ਵਢਾਇਆ	'had cut'
/d/	ਦ	⟨d⟩	/dɪ̄n̲/	ਦਿਨ	'day'
	ਧ	⟨ dh⟩	/wádu/	ਵਾਧੂ	'extra'
			/wədàɪa/	ਵਧਾਇਆ	'increased'
/b/	ਬ	⟨ b ⟩	/bōl/	ਬੋਲ	'speak'
	ਭ	⟨ bh ⟩	/láb/	ਲਾਭ	'profit'
			/ləbàɪa/	ਲਭਾਇਆ	'helped find'

4. The nasal consonants are all written by nasalization diacritic when before a homorganic consonant, and by a letter when in any other position. The homorganic nasal is written: ੰ /t̲ɪ̄ppi/ when following / ɪ ə ʊ/, ਂ /bɪ̄ndi/ when following /i e æ a ɔ o u/. The letters for the nasals are:

/ŋ/	ਙ	⟨ ṅ ⟩	/kə̄ŋən̲/	ਕੰਙਣ	'bracelet'
/ñ/	ਞ	⟨ ń ⟩	/əñān̲a/	ਅੰਞਾਣਾ	'child'
/n̲/	ਣ	⟨ ṇ ⟩	/mə̄n̲/	ਮਣ	'maund'
/n/	ਨ	⟨ n ⟩	/nə̄p/	ਨਪ	'press'
/m/	ਮ	⟨ m ⟩	/mə̄n/	ਮਨ	'mind'

The following are examples of the spelling of homorganic nasals in clusters:

/ŋ/	/təŋg/	ਟੰਗ	'narrow'	/wāŋg/	ਵਾਂਗ	'like'
/ñ/	/rəñj/	ਰੰਜ	'sorrow'	/māñji/	ਮਾਂਜੀ	'cleaned'
/n̲/	/wən̲d̲/	ਵੰਡ	'partition'	/pān̲d̲e/	ਪਾਂਡੇ	'a caste'
/n/	/cənd/	ਚੰਦ	'moon'	/cāndi/	ਚਾਂਦੀ	'silver'
/m/	/əmb/	ਅੰਬ	'mango'	/tāmba/	ਤਾਂਬਾ	'copper'

5. Geminate consonants are written with ˘ /ə̄ddək/, except /nn/ and /mm/ which are written with ° /t̲ɪ̄ppi/. See 4.3 for examples.

6. In careful writing when a word with /kh/ or /g/ is known to come from an Urdu word with خ or غ, a dot may be added, giving ਖ਼ and ਗ਼. Most people omit this diacritic.

/gərīb/	ਗਰੀਬ	or	ਗ਼ਰੀਬ	'poor'
/khə̄rgoš/	ਖਰਗੋਸ਼	or	ਖ਼ਰਗੋਸ਼	'rabbit'

4.13 Spellings for Vowels and Tones

The following vowels have only one writing:

/i/	ੀ
/a/	ਾ
/u/	ੂ
/ɪ/	ਿ
/ʊ/	ੁ

The following vowels have two or three writings. A "normal" spelling is used when the vowel has mid or low tone, or when the tone is elsewhere in the word. When accompanied by high tone special spellings are used; these are given below.

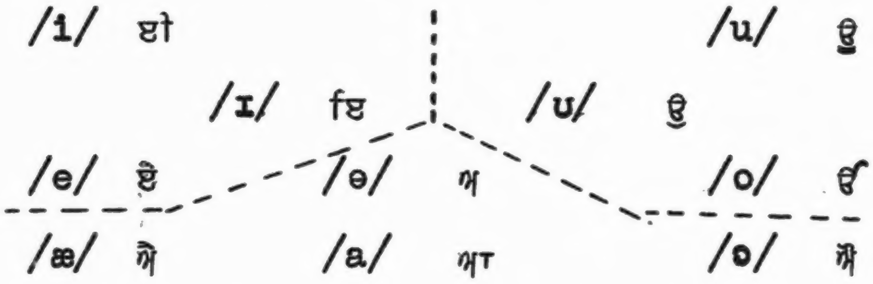
/e/	ੇ
/o/	ੋ
/æ/	ੈ
/ɔ/	ੌ

In addition /o/ with any tone is spelled ਉ when final and following a vowel.

ਕਰਾਇਉ	⟨karāiu⟩	/kərāɪo/	'get done'

The vowel /ə/ is never written.

The above signs are attached to consonant letters. When the vowel does not follow a consonant, a vowel-bearer is used. The combinations are as follows:



Mid tone is never given any special indication.

Low tone is indicated by a special spelling for the preceding consonant. If that consonant is /n m l r̲ r/ (or rarely others) a conjunct consonant with ੍ਹ⟨h⟩, added to the normal spelling for the consonant is used. If that consonant is /k c t̲ t p/ and initial, or if it is /g j d̲ d b/ and non-initial a 'voiced aspirate' ⟨gh jh ḍh dh bh⟩ is used.

ਨ੍ਹੇਰਾ	⟨nhērā⟩	/nèra/	'darkness'
ਭਾਈ	⟨bhāī⟩	/pài/	'brother'
ਬੁਝਾਇਆ	⟨bujhāiā⟩	/bʊjàɪa/	'extinguished'

High tone is indicated in most cases by a special spelling for the following consonant or by the addition of ਹ ⟨h⟩. The following devices are used:

If the accompanying vowel is centralized and the following consonant is /g j d̲ d b/, the appropriate 'voiced aspirate' with /ēddek/ is used:

ਮੱਝ	⟨majjh⟩	/méj/	'buffalo'

If the accompanying vowel is centralized and the following consonant is /n m l r̲ r/, the appropriate conjunct with ੍ਹ ⟨h⟩ is used and this is written with /ēddek/:

ਬੱਨ੍ਹ	⟨bannh⟩	/bén/	'tie'

If the accompanying vowel is /a i u/ and is followed by a consonant, vowelless ਹ ⟨h⟩ is added:

ਬਾਹਰ	⟨bāhr⟩	/bár/	'outside'

If the accompanying vowel is /a i u/ and is followed by a vowel, ਹ ⟨h⟩ is written bearing that following vowel.

ਬਾਹੀ	⟨bāhī⟩	/bái/	'side'

If the accompanying vowel is /e o æ ɔ/, special devices described below are used.

The combinations of high tone and /e o æ ɔ/ are written as follows. The spellings are given as combined with ਕ ⟨k⟩.

/ké/	ਕਿਹ
/kó/	ਕੁਹ
/kǽ/	ਕਹਿ
/kɔ́/	ਕਹੁ

All the combinations of vowels and tones are illustrated in the following chart. Further illustrations can be seen in sections 4.7 and 4.8.

A disyllabic word ending in /a/ and having tone on the last syllable may be spelled with an added final ਅ . This has no value except to indicate that the tone is final. The nature of the tone must be indicated as above.

The following are examples of all vowels and tones in monosyllables:

	mid tone		low tone		high tone
ਤਰ	/tə̄r/ 'swim'	ਧਰ	/tə̀r/ 'put'	ਚੜ੍ਹ	/cə́r̲/ 'climb'
ਕਿਸ	/kɪ̄s/ 'who'	ਧਿਰ	/tɪ̀r/ 'help'	ਵਿਨ੍ਹ	/wɪ́n/ 'pierce'
ਪੁਲ	/pʊ̄l̲/ 'bridge'	ਝੁਰ	/cʊ̀r/ 'gloomy'	ਮੁੱਢ	/mʊ́d̲/ 'root'
ਚੀਰ	/cīr/ 'cut'	ਭੀੜ	/pìr̲/ 'crowd'	ਪੀਹਣ	/pín̲/ 'grind'
ਫੇਰ	/phēr/ 'again'	ਭੇੜ	/pèr̲/ 'collision'	ਤਿਹਰ	/tér/ 'third time'
ਲੈਣ	/lǣn̲/ 'take'	ਭੈਣ	/pæ̀n̲/ 'sister'	ਲਹਿਰ	/lǽr/ 'wane'
ਮਾਰ	/mār/ 'kill'	ਭਾਰ	/pàr/ 'weight'	ਵਾਹਣ	/wán̲/ 'plowed field'
ਪੌਣ	/pɔ̄n̲/ 'wind'	ਧੌਣ	/tɔ̀n̲/ 'neck'	ਲਾਹੁਣ	/lɔ́n̲/ 'take off'

ਚੋਰ	/cōr/ 'thief'	ਢੋਲ	/tòl/ 'drum'	ਛੁਹਰ	/chór/ 'boy'
ਰੂਪ	/rūp/ 'beauty'	ਧੁੜ	/tùr/ 'dust'	ਮੁਹੜ	/múr/ 'fool'

CHAPTER 5

PARTS OF SPEECH AND INFLECTION

5.1 Word Classes

Panjabi words may be inflected or uninflected. Some show characteristic derivational formations. The description of the syntax requires recognition of a number of syntactically defined word classes, correlating more or less with those which must be recognized morphologically. A system of word classes is set up here to provide a basis both for morphology and syntax. The classes are as follows:

1. Nouns -- generally inflected for number and case and with assigned gender. There are three subclasses, correlating with the two genders, on the basis of inflectional paradigms. There is a cross-cutting subclass which has in addition to the direct and oblique, an ablative and a locative. Another subclass has a locative but not necessarily an ablative. (See 5.4) Other subclasses seem to be semantic rather than grammatical.
2. Pronouns -- a small closed class inflected for case, but following paradigms different from those of nouns, and not the same for all members of the class. Pronouns have assigned number, but gender is variable. (See 5.5)
3. Adjectives -- two major subclasses. (See 5.8)
    - 3a. Black Adjectives -- inflected for number, gender, and case on a pattern similar to that of certain

nouns. We describe this type of inflection in 5.8, but it should be noted that certain words inflected on this pattern are excluded from this class for syntactic reasons.

3b. *Red Adjectives* -- uninflected, but assignable to this class by syntactic distribution.

4. *Numerals* -- syntactically adjectives, but conveniently treated separately because of their characteristic derivational patterns, and their ordering. Five subclasses. (See 5.9)

5. *Postpositions* -- a fairly clearly marked syntactic group with three subclasses. (See 5.12)

    5a. /da/ 'of' inflected like adjectives and forming phrases of adjectival function.

    5b. /nu ne tõ/ -- following nouns directly, marking case-like relations, and not used with certain pronouns.

    5c. All others -- optionally following /de/ and patterning in many respects like locative or ablative nouns. This group shows an inflection with two forms.

6. *Verbal Auxiliaries* -- two sets inflected for person and number, and showing very clearly marked syntactic peculiarities. (See 5.14)

7. *Verbs* -- a large class with a fairly extensive and very characteristic inflectional system. There are numerous syntactic subclasses. (See 5.15ff)

8. Adverbs -- an open class of uninflected words modifying verb phrases. (See 5.6 and 5.13)

9. Particles -- here used as a cover term for a considerable number of small classes of uninflected words. These will be described in the chapters on syntax, generally without assignment to classes.

5.2 Morphophonemic Adjustments -- Vowels

Sequences of vowels are treated as follows. The same rules apply if one or both vowels are nasalized, and the resulting sequence, either with or without /w/ is nasalized throughout (see 2.9)

1. In the following, two forms are in free variation in at least some forms of Panjabi. In general, the sequences without /w/ are commoner in informal or colloquial language; those with /w/ are preferred in formal and standard language. These, however, are merely statements of preferences, and both forms can be heard in most types of discourse.

a + a > awa ~ a

pá- + -aŋge > páwaŋge páwaŋge ~ páŋge 'we will put'

gã + -ã > gawã ~ gã 'cows'

o + o > owo ~ o

hó- + -oge > hówoge ~ hóge 'you will be'

8. *Adverbs* -- an open class of uninflected words modifying verb phrases. (See 5.6 and 5.13)
9. *Particles* -- here used as a cover term for a considerable number of small classes of uninflected words. These will be described in the chapters on syntax, generally without assignment to classes.

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pá- + -aŋge > páwaŋge páwaŋge ~ páŋge
'we will put'

gã + -ã > gawã ~ gã 'cows'

o + o > owo ~ o

hó- + -oge > hówoge ~ hóge 'you will be'

e + e > ewe ~ e
dé- + -ega > déwega ~ déga 'he will give'
e + o > ewo ~ o
lé- + -oge > léwoge ~ lóge 'you will take'

2. In the following, the form with /w/ is predominant at all levels of discourse described here:

e + a > ewa
lé- + -aŋge > léwaŋge 'we will take'
e + e > ewe
lé- + -ega > léwega 'he will take'

3. In the following, the form without /w/ is more usual in the standard language, but forms with /w/ do occur.

a + e > ae ~ awe
pá- + -ega > páega ~ páwega 'he will put'

4. In the following two combinations, rearticulated vowels /ii/ and /uu/ occur in some instances. The pronunciations are learned and quite formal, and restricted to the verb forms cited. Elsewhere, and colloquially in these verbs, single vowels without any unusual length prevail.

i + i > i ~ ii
pi + -ida > pida ~ piida 'may drink'
u + u > u ~ uu
tù + -uŋga > tùŋga ~ tùuŋga 'I will drag'

5. Other sequences of vowels are merely juxtaposed without morphophonemic adjustment. The following are a few examples.

pá-	+	-uŋga	>	páuŋga	'I will put'
nà	+	-o	>	nào	'bathe!'
mali	+	-a	>	malia	'O gardener'

6. There are various changes in final stem vowels of certain verbs. For these see 5.17ff.

7. When causative extensions are added to verb stems, the stem vowels become /ə/, and in disyllabic stems the second vowel drops. See 5.15.

5.3 Morphophonemic Adjustments -- Consonants

There are a few morphophonemic adjustments involving consonants that are fully automatic:

1. Stem final geminates must be simplified if standing word final. This occurs in both nouns and verbs:

hətth-	+	nothing	həth	'hand'
	+	-ã	hətthã	'hands'
kʊt̲t̲-	+	nothing	kʊt̲	'beat' (imperative)
	+	-ɪa	kʊt̲t̲ɪa	'beat' (past)

2. If a suffix consisting of a single consonant is added to a stem ending in a consonant other than /r r̲ l l̲/, a /ə/ is added. /ə/ is predictable between most final consonants on purely phonologic grounds (see 2.15).

kʊtt-	+	-n	>	kʊttən	'to beat'

This applies in verbs, but there are no such suffixes in the inflection of other classes.

Other morphophonemic adjustments are not so fully automatic. Conditionings and other details are, therefore, best described in the places where they occur. But it may be useful to summarize the types that occur.

3. With certain suffixes, the second vowel in disyllabic stems may be dropped. If the preceding consonant is geminate, this must be simplified.

sərək	+	-ã	>	sərkã	'roads'
kʊkkər	+	-ã	>	kʊkrã	'chickens'

4. If a suffix with initial consonant is added to a stem ending in a geminate, either the geminate must be simplified or a /ə/ introduced. Both occur in verbal inflection:

dɪss-	+	-da	>	dɪsda	'appearing'
	+	-na	>	dɪssəna	'to be seen'

5. /n/ becomes /n/ after /r/.

kər-	+	-na	>	kərna	'to do'

5.4 Nouns

Nouns are inflected for number and case. There are two numbers, singular and plural. There are five cases. Two of these, direct and oblique, apply to all nouns. The vocative is common only with animate nouns, though it is occasionally used with some others. The ablative occurs only in the singular of a small class of nouns. The same class of nouns has a locative case in the plural. Another small class has a locative case in the singular. In place of the ablative plural, most locative singulars, and all comparable uses of words having neither of these cases, phrases are used consisting of the oblique followed by a postposition (see 6.10). For the use of the cases see 6.3.

Nouns are assigned to one of two genders, masculine and feminine (see 5.7). Masculine nouns are inflected following paradigms I and II. All those ending in the nominative singular in /-a/ follow paradigm I, those with other endings, either consonants or vowels, follow paradigm II. All feminines, including those ending in consonants and in vowels, follow paradigm III. The following tabulations illustrate these paradigms together with any common morphophonemic adjustments:

Paradigm I (Masculines in /-a/)

		'boy'	'house'	'manner'
singular	direct	mʊnda	koṯha	jɪá
	oblique	mʊṉḏe	koṯhe	jeé
	vocative	mʊṉḏɪa		
	ablative		koṯhiõ	
plural	direct	mʊṉḏe	koṯhe	jeé
	oblique	mʊṉḏɪã	koṯhɪã	jɪã́
	vocative	mʊṉḏɪo		
	locative		koṯhĩ	

Paradigm II (Masculines not in /-a/)

		'washer-man'	'village'	'chicken'	'hand'
singular	direct	tòbi	pɪṉḏ	kʊkkeṟ	heth
	oblique	tòbi	pɪṉḏ	kʊkkeṟ	heth
	vocative	tòbia	pɪṉḏa	kʊkṟa	
	ablative		pɪṉḏõ		
plural	direct	tòbi	pɪṉḏ	kʊkkeṟ	heth
	oblique	tòbiã	pɪṉḏã	kʊkṟã	hetthã
	vocative	tòbio		kʊkṟo	
	locative		pɪṉḏĩ		

Paradigm III (Feminines)

		'girl'	'cow'	'night'	'road'
singular	direct	/kʊr̲i/	/gã/	/rat/	/sər̲ək/
	oblique	/kʊr̲i/	/gã/	/rat/	/sər̲ək/
	vocative	/kʊr̲ie/	/gaẽ/		
	ablative				/sər̲kõ/
plural	direct	/kʊr̲iã/	/gawã/ ~ /gã/	/ratã/	/sər̲kã/
	oblique	/kʊr̲iã/	/gawã/ ~ /gã/	/ratã/	/sər̲kã/
	vocative	/kʊr̲io/	/gaõ/		
	locative				/sər̲kĩ/

Disyllabic words with /ə/ in the second syllable drop this /ə/ before all suffixes. In addition, if the medial consonant is geminate it becomes single when the /ə/ is dropped. /kʊkkər̲/ 'chicken' and /sər̲ək/ 'road' illustrate these changes. Successions of identical vowels, other than /i/, may either have a /w/ between or merge into one. /gawã/ ~ /gã/ illustrates this. In general the forms with the /w/ are standard and formal; those without are more colloquial or informal. At many levels there is free variation. Successive vowels, with or without an intervening /w/ are either all nasalized or none. Only one indication of nasalization, therefore, need be written in any forms of /gã/, but all vowels are nasalized. The stem of /həth/ is /hətth-/. Final geminates must simplify when not followed by a vowel initial suffix. /ɪ/ before /a/ becomes

/ə/ before other suffixes and drops before /ɪ/.

Certain conspicuous contrasts with Hindi should be pointed out. All Panjabi feminines are inflected alike. There is no contrast such as that between मेज़ मेज़ें, लड़की लड़कियां and चिड़िया चिड़ियां . All Panjabi masculines ending in /-a/ are alike. There is no distinction such as that between लड़का लड़के and राजा राजा . Hindi lacks inflectionally marked ablative and locative forms.

The following are the most commonly used nouns in the small class with ablative singular and locative plural:

pɪn̲d̲õ	'from the village'	pɪn̲d̲ĩ	'in the villages'
šærõ	'from the city'	šærĩ	'in the cities'
kə̀rõ	'from the house'	kə̀rĩ	'in the houses'
khetõ	'from the field'	khetĩ	'in the fields'

A few others are possible, but somewhat less usual:

kot̲hɪõ	'from the house'	kot̲hĩ	'in the houses'
desõ	'from the country'	desĩ	'in the countries'

One common noun only and some place names have a locative singular. The latter include only place names ending in /-a/:

kə̀re	'in the house'
pət̲ɪāle	'in Patiala' from pət̲ɪāla

5.5 Pronouns

Pronouns are inflected for number and case. There are two types with totally different paradigms. The first type including the first and second person pronouns, singular and plural, has forms for direct, oblique, dative, ablative, and genitive. The latter is an adjective and is further inflected following the usual adjective paradigm (see 5.8). The second type, including the third person pronouns, has in addition a locative and an instrumental. The paradigms are as follows:

		first sing.	first plur.	second sing.	second plur.
direct		/mæ/	/əsĩ/	/tũ/	/tʊsĩ/
oblique		/mæ/	/əsã/	/tũ/	/tʊsã/
dative		/məĩnu/	/sanu/	/təĩnu/	/tʊànu/
ablative		/meĩthõ/	/sathõ/	/təĩthã/	/tʊàthõ/
genitive	m.s.d.	/mera/	/sad̲a/	/tera/	/tʊàd̲a/
	m.s.o.	/mere/	/sad̲e/	/tere/	/tʊàd̲e/
	m.p.d.	/mere/	/sad̲e/	/tere/	/tʊàd̲e/
	m.p.o.	/merɪã/	/sad̲ɪã/	/terɪã/	/tʊàd̲ɪã/
	f.s.d.	/meri/	/sad̲i/	/teri/	/tʊàd̲i/
	f.s.o.	/meri/	/sad̲i/	/teri/	/tʊàd̲i/
	f.p.d.	/meriã/	/sad̲iã/	/teriã/	/tʊàd̲iã/
	f.p.o.	/meriã/	/sad̲iã/	/teriã/	/tʊàd̲iã/

There is no instrumental case distinct from the direct, nor is the instrumental postposition used with these. Thus /mæ kɪá/ 'I said' compare Hindi मैं ने कहा

/əpṉa/ or /apṉa/ is the usual reflexive genitive pronoun. It is used for all persons, singular and plural. It means that the possessor is identical with the subject of the sentence. It is inflected for number, gender, and case like all adjectives and like the genitives above. Compare Hindi अपना .

/apã nu/ 'to us' is colloquially used in place of /sanu/.

/tusĩ/ and related forms are commonly used in addressing single persons as a mark of respect.

/ap/ 'you' is occasionally used in Panjabi following Hindi-Urdu patterns as a pronoun of respect.

/ap/ 'you' is occasionally used in Panjabi following Hindi-Urdu patterns as a pronoun of respect. The much more usual respectful form is /tusĩ/. /ap/ is uninflected.

There are two sets of deictic or third person pronouns. These make no distinction of gender, nor of number in the direct case. /ó/ is the commoner, and is generally used when no contrast is intended. When they do contrast, /é/ refers to the nearer, and /ó/ to the more remote. The inflection is as follows:

	singular		plural	
	remote	near	remote	near
direct	ó	e	ó	é
oblique	ó	é	óna	éna
dative	ónu	énu	(óna nũ	éna nũ)
instrumental	óne ~ õn	éne ~ ẽn	(óna nẽ	éna nẽ)

			singular		plural	
			remote	near	remote	near
genitive masc.	sing.	dir.	óda	éda	(óna dā	éna dā) etc.
		obl.	óde	éde		
	plur.	dir.	óde	éde		
		obl.	ódɪã	ódɪã		
fem.	sing.	dir.	ódi	édi		
		obl.	odi	édi		
	plur.	dir.	ódiã	édiã		
		obl.	ódiã	édiã		

The instrumental and genitive singulars appear to be the simple form plus the postpositions /nu/ /ne/ and /da/, except that the latter do not have tones. On the basis of the assumption that every word in Panjabi has a tone, these are here treated as suffixes. The existence of alternative short forms for the instrumental is a confirmation. In the plural the postpositions are used in the regular way with the oblique and do bear tones.

Interrogative and relative pronouns are inflected for case, but do not mark number. The forms are as follows:

	interrogative		relative
	personal	impersonal	
direct	kɵn	ki	jo
oblique	kɪs		jɪs
dative			
instrumental	kɪ́nne ˜ kɪn		jɪ́nne ˜ jɪn
genitive	kída kíde etc.		jída jíde etc.

The uses of these forms are described at various places in the sections on syntax.

5.6 Correlatives

There are a number of pronouns and adverbs which form a correlative paradigm. Sets 1 and 2 are further inflected, and have been described in 5.5. Each set may contain four items:

a near deictic, characterized by a front vowel, /e/ or /ɪ/
a remote deictic, characterized by a back vowel, /o/ or /ʊ/
a relative, characterized by an initial /j/.
an interrogative, characterized by an initial /k/.

The forms are as follows:

Pronominal	1.	é 'this'	ó 'that'	jo 'what'	ki 'what?'
	2.				kɵn 'who?'
	3.	--	--	jér̲a 'who'	kér̲a 'who?'

Adverbial	4.	éthe	óthe	jɪ́tthe	kɪ́tthe
		'here'	'there'	'where'	'where?'
	5.	éthõ	óthõ	jɪ́tthõ	kɪ́tthõ
		'hence'	'thence'	'whence'	'whence?'
	6.	éder	óder	jɪ́dder	kɪ́dder
		'hither'	'thither'	'whither'	'whither?'
	7.	ewẽ	owẽ	jɪwẽ	kɪwẽ
		'this way'	'that way'	'which way'	'how?'
	8.	ɪñj	uñj	--	kɪñj
		'this way'	'that way'		'how?'

There are no adjectival correlatives comparable to Hindi ऐसा 'this kind of' etc. Instead, a phrase is used combining set 1 with an emphatic suffix and the noun /jɪá/ (plural /jeé/):

éo jɪá ਇਹੋ ਜਿਹਾ	'this kind of'	ó jɪá ਉਹੋ ਜਿਹਾ	'that kind of'
kɪó jɪá ਕਿਹੋ ਜਿਹਾ	'what kind of'		

Note that /ó jɪá/ is for /óo jɪá/, and is spelled accordingly.

5.7 Gender

There are two genders, masculine and feminine. Every Panjabi noun is assigned to one of these. The assignment is often entirely arbitrary, predictable neither from form nor meaning. However, most nouns ending in /a/ are masculine. A majority of nouns ending in /i/ are feminine, but there are some frequently used ones ending in /i/ which are masculine. The latter are commonly terms referring to professions or employment. Whenever there are two contrasting nouns from the same stem, there is a gender contrast as follows:

1. Masculine in /a/, Feminine in /i/:

masculines		feminines	
/lər̲ka/	'boy'	/lər̲ki/	'girl'
/caca/	'uncle'	/caci/	'uncle's wife'
/kòr̲a/	'horse'	/kòr̲i/	'mare'
/sot̲a/	'big stick'	/sot̲i/	'small stick'

2. Masculine in /i/, feminine in /ən̲/:

/tòbi/	'washerman'	/tòbən̲/	'washerman's wife'
/mali/	'gardener'	/malən̲/	'gardener's wife'

3. Masculine in a consonant; feminine in /i/:

/das/	'servant'	/dasi/	'female servant'
/tərkhā̃n̲/	'carpenter'	/tərkhā̃n̲i/	'carpenter's wife'
/hərn/	'deer'	/hərni/	'doe'
/thal̲/	'large tray'	/thal̲i/	'small tray'
/pàr̲/	'mountain'	/pàr̲i/	'hill'

4. Masculine in a consonante feminine in /n̲i/ -- /ni/ after /r/

/nət̲/	'acrobat'	/nət̲n̲i/	'acrobat's wife'
/sád/	'sadhu'	/sádn̲i/	'female sadhu'

/ut̲h/	'camel'	/ut̲hn̲i/	'female camel'
/šer/	'lion'	/šerni/	'lioness'

5. Masculine in a consonant; feminine in /ān̲i/

/jet̲h/	'husband's elder brother'	/jet̲hān̲i/	'husband's elder brother's wife'
/nɵker/	'servant'	/nɵkrān̲i/	'female servant'

Note that /e/ in the second syllable drops before a suffix. Note change of stem vowel before /ān̲i/.

The following semantic relations exist between paired masculine and feminine nouns:

1. With a very few animate nouns, the masculine refers specifically to a male and the feminine specifically to a female.

ler̲ka	'boy'	ler̲ki	'girl'

2. With many animate nouns, especially terms for animals, the masculine refers to the species in general, the feminine specifically to a female.

bander	'monkey'	bandri	'female monkey'

3. With a very few animate nouns, the feminine is the general term referring to the species, the masculine is specific and refers to a male.

bɪlla	'male cat'	bɪlli	'cat'

4. With caste or occupational and most kinship terms, the masculine refers to the stated relation, the feminine to the wife of such a person.

teli	'oilman'	telen̲	'oilman's wife'

mama	'mother's brother'	mami	'mother's brother's wife'

5. With very few kinship terms, the feminine refers to a stated relation, and the masculine is the husband thereof.

phupha	'father's sister's husband'	phuphi	'father's sister'

6. With most inanimate nouns, the masculine refers to a larger type, the feminine to a smaller.

ketōra	'large bowl'	ketōri	'small bowl'

7. With a few inanimate nouns, the pair refer to associated objects of different kinds, the masculine referring to the main object, and the feminine to the accessory.

tala	'lock'	tali	'key'

5.8 Adjectives

There are two classes of adjectives in Panjabi, inflected or "balck adjectives," and uninflected or "red adjectives." These names are based on typical representatives of the two groups /kala/ 'black' and /lal/ 'red'. Professor Prabodh Pandit has pointed out that these meanings are carried by inflected and uninflected adjectives in most Indic languages, whether the words are cognate or not, and has suggested these terms.

Black adjectives are inflected precisely like nouns of paradigms I and III of the noun, except that vocative, ablative, and locative forms are not used. Note that adjectives do not differ from nouns in the feminine plural as do Hindi or Urdu adjectives.

		masculine	feminine
singular	direct	kal̲a	kal̲i
	oblique	kal̲e	kal̲i
plural	direct	kal̲e	kal̲iã
	oblique	kal̲ɪã	kal̲iã

A few black adjectives have nasalized final vowels. These follow the same paradigm, but show nasalization in all forms: /bárwã bárwĩ/ etc. 'twelfth'.

Various verb forms, one postposition /da/, genitive pronouns, and certain numerals are inflected in the same manner.

Cardinal numerals are adjectives. Those from /do/ 'two' upward are inflected for case but not for gender: /des admi/ 'ten men', /desã admiã da/ 'of ten men', /des kur̲iã/ 'ten girls', /desã kur̲iã da/ 'of ten girls.'

5.9 Numerals

There are five sets of numerals. Only two sets extend to higher numbers. The five sets are as follows:

cardinals	ordinals			
ɪ̲k 'one'	peíla 'first'	kára 'one fold'		
do 'two'	duja 'second'	dúra 'two fold'	dun̲a 'double'	dóe 'both'
tɪn 'three'	tija 'third'	tíra 'three fold'	tin̲a 'triple'	tɪ́nne 'all three'

car	cəũtha	cɔ́ra	cɔn̲a	cáre
'four'	'fourth'	'four fold'	'quad-ruple'	'all four'
pəñj	pəñjwã			pə́ñje
'five'	'fifth'			'all five'
che	chewã			chéie
'six'	'sixth'			'all six'
sət	sətwã			
'seven'	'seventh'			
ət̲h	ət̲hwã			
'eight'	'eighth'			
nɔ	nawã			
'nine'	'ninth'			
dəs	dəswã			
'ten'	'tenth'			
yarã	yárwã			
'eleven'	'eleventh'			
barã	bárwã			
'twelve'	'twelfth'			

Only cardinals and ordinals are found beyond 'six'. Higher ordinals are rare,but can be formed when needed by the following rule: From 'eleven' to 'eighteen', i.e., all the numerals ending in /ã/ in the cardinal, infix /-w-/ and raise the tone to high. For higher numerals, add /-wã/ and raise the tone. Note that 'five' to 'ten' add this same suffix, but do not change the tone. Note also, there is a vowel change in /nawã/ from /nɔ/ 'nine'.

The ordinals, /kára dǘra tíra córa/, and /dun̲a̲ tin̲a̲ con̲a̲/ are black adjectives and are inflected accordingly. The cardinals to 'one hundred' and the set /dóe ... chéie/ are red adjectives and are uninflected.

Numbers higher than 'one hundred' are made by the use of the following forms:

sɔ	'hundred'
hezār	'thousand'
lekh	'hundred thousand'
kèrōr̲	'ten million'

These can be used alone, or a small number can be placed before them as a multiplier:

sɔ mʊn̲d̲e	'a hundred boys'
do sɔ mʊn̲d̲e	'two hundred boys'
hezār mʊn̲d̲e	'a thousand boys'
set hezār mʊn̲d̲e	'seven thousand boys'

/ɪk sɔ mʊn̲d̲e/ is possible, but would give great emphasis to the preciseness of the count, and so would be most unusual. Other numbers can be formed by joining lower number after higher:

do sɔ wí mʊn̲d̲e	'two hundred and twenty boys'
et̲h hezār peñj sɔ mʊn̲d̲e	'8500 boys'
peñjasi sɔ mʊn̲d̲e	'8500 boys'
chetti sɔ mʊn̲d̲e	'thirty-six hundred boys'

The last form is a standard expression for a large, indefinite number producing general confusion. It means something like 'far too many boys'. Other indefinite numbers, without the connnotation of the last are the following:

həzārā̃	'thousands'
ləkkhā̃	'millions'

The following nouns are used to count units of twelve or a hundred:

dərjən	'dozen'	pl.	dərjənā̃
sæŋkr̲a	'hundred'	pl.	sæŋkr̲e

These may be counted -- /do dərjənā̃/, /tɪn sæŋkr̲e/ etc. -- but are not used in forming expression like 'one hundred and fifty', which can only be /ɪk sɔ pañjá/.

Certain common fractions are expressed by single words:

səwāɪa	'one quarter'	(singular)
ə́dda	'one half'	(singular)
pɔn̲a	'three quarters'	(singular)
d̲ɪór̲a (noun)	'one and a half'	(singular)
d̲ér̲ (adj.)	'one and a half'	
t̲ài	'two and a half'	(plural)

Other fractions are expressed by the use of:

səwa	'one quarter more than'
səwa ɪk	'one and a quarter'
səwa tɪn	'three and a quarter'
sád̲e	'one half more than'
sád̲e tɪn	'three and a half'
sád̲e car	'four and a half'

pᵒn̲e	'one quarter less than'
pᵒn̲e tɪn	'two and three quarters'
pᵒn̲e pəñj	'four and three quarters'

Other fractions can be formed on the following pattern, but are not at all commonly used:

pəñjwã hɪssa	'a fifth part'

Quantities up to /dɪór̲a/ are singular:

ɪk tola	'one tola'
səwãɪa tola	'1/4 tola'
pᵒn̲a tola	'3/4 tola'
d̲ér̲ tola	'1 1/2 tola'
pᵒn̲e do tole	'1 3/4 tola'

Compare /d̲ér̲a kəm kita/ 'He did extra work' /d̲ér̲a/ means merely 'extra'; /d̲ér̲/ means '1/2 extra' precisely.

5.10 Tables of Numerals

The following table gives the integral cardinal numerals from 'one' to 'one hundred'. Compare also 5.11.

ɪk	'one'	ėt̲h	'eight'
do	'two'	nᵒ	'nine'
tɪn	'three'	dəs	'ten'
car	'four'	yarã	'eleven'
pəñj	'five'	barã	'twelve'
che	'six'	terã	'thirteen'
sət	'seven'	codã	'fourteen'

pendrã	'fifteen'	cal̲i	'forty'
sol̲ã	'sixteen'	ɪktāl̲i	'forty-one'
setārã	'seventeen'	betāl̲i	'forty-two'
et̲hārã	'eighteen'	tertāli	'forty-three'
ʊnni	'nineteen'	cetāl̲i	'forty-four'
wí	'twenty'	peñjtal̲i	'forty-five'
ɪkki	'twenty-one'	chetāl̲i	'forty-six'
bai	'twenty-two'	sentāl̲i	'forty-seven'
tei	'twenty-three'	et̲htāl̲i	'forty-eight'
céwi	'twenty-four'	ʊnɪ̄ñja	'forty-nine'
péñji	'twenty-five'	peñjá	'fifty'
chəbbi	'twenty-six'	ɪkwə̄ñja	'fifty-one'
setāi	'twenty-seven'	bʊwə̄ñja	'fifty-two'
et̲hāi	'twenty-eight'	terwə̄ñja	'fifty-three'
ʊnə̄tti	'twenty-nine'	cʊrə̄ñja	'fifty-four'
tí	'thirty'	pecwə̄ñja	'fifty-five'
ɪkə̄tti	'thirty-one'	chepə̄ñja	'fifty-six'
betti	'thirty-two'	setwə̄ñja	'fifty-seven'
teti	'thirty-three'	et̲hwə̄ñja	'fifty-eight'
cɔti	'thirty-four'	ʊnát̲h	'fifty-nine'
peīnti	'thirty-five'	set̲h	'sixty'
chətti	'thirty-six'	ɪkát̲h	'sixty-one'
seīnti	'thirty-seven'	bát̲h	'sixty-two'
et̲hə̄tti	'thirty-eight'	terét̲h	'sixty-three'
ʊntāl̲i	'thirty-nine'	cón̲t̲h	'sixty-four'

pǽn̲t̲h	'sixty-five'
chɪát̲h	'sixty-six'
setát̲h	'sixty-seven'
et̲hát̲h	'sixty-eight'
ʊnẽtter	'sixty-nine'
setter	'seventy'
ɪkẽtter	'seventy-one'
bètter	'seventy-two'
trɪ̀etter	'seventy-three'
cewètter	'seventy-four'
peñjẽtter	'seventy-five'
chɪ̀etter	'seventy-six'
setẽtter	'seventy-seven'
et̲hẽtter	'seventy-eight'
ʊnãsi	'seventy-nine'
essi	'eighty'
ɪkãsi	'eighty-one'
bɪãsi	'eighty-two'
terɪãsi	'eighty-three'
cʊrãsi	'eighty-four'
peñjãsi	'eighty-five'
chɪãsi	'eighty-six'
setãsi	'eighty-seven'
et̲hãsi	'eighty-eight'
ʊnãnwẽ	'eighty-nine'
nebbe	'ninety'
ɪkãnwẽ	'ninety-one'
banwẽ	'ninety-two'
terɪãnwẽ	'ninety-three'
cʊrãnwẽ	'ninety-four'
pecãnwẽ	'ninety-five'
chɪãnwẽ	'ninety-six'
setãnwẽ	'ninety-seven'
et̲hãnwẽ	'ninety-eight'
ner̲ɪ̃nwẽ	'ninety-nine'
so	'hundred'

5.11 Alternative Method of Counting

There is an alternative method of counting numbers above twenty. It is more commonly used in rural areas than in the cities, and is generally considered less proper, or as an indication of less education.

The unit is /wí/ 'twenty', used with a plural /wíã/. Even multiples of twenty are counted:

do wíã	'two twenties'	'forty'
tɪn wíã	'three twenties'	'sixty'
che wíã	'six twenties'	'one hundred and twenty'

/peñj wíã/ 'five twenties' might be expected, but is very infrequent, /sɔ/ 'hundred' being used instead.

The ten numbers following any multiple of twenty are expressed by adding:

tɪn wíã te des	'three twenties and ten'	'seventy'
car wíã te peñj	'four twenties and five'	'eighty-five'

The nine numbers before any multiple of twenty are expressed by subtraction:

ɪk kèt tɪn wíã	'one less than three twenties'	'fifty-nine'
peñj kèt car wíã	'five less than four twenties'	'seventy-five'
do kèt sɔ	'two less than a hundred'	'ninety-eight'

5.12 Postpositions

There are three types of postpositions in Panjabi.

1. /da/ 'of' is inflected for gender, number, and case and agrees with the following noun. Compare Hindi का. The forms are:

		masculine	feminine
singular	direct	/da/	/di/
	oblique	/de/	/di/
plural	direct	/de/	/diã/
	oblique	/dɪã/	/diã/

M-

2. Three forms always immediately follow the noun and show no inflection. These are:

/nē/	'instrumental or agentive' Compare Hindi ने
/nū/	'to' also marks various verbal complements Compare Hindi को
/tõ/	'from, by' Compare Hindi से

/nē/ and /nū/ lose their tone and become suffixes after certain pronouns. The combinations have been listed in the paradigms of pronouns (see 5.3). /tõ/ is related in some less obvious way to the various allomorphs marking the ablative of pronouns and of certain nouns: /-õ -thõ -tthõ/. The forms are included in the paradigms (see 5.2 and 5.3).

3. There are a large number of postpositions which may follow a noun or a noun plus /de/. The use of /de/ is in most instances completely optional, unlike Hindi के . These also generally have two forms. One can be considered as comparable to a locative singular noun, of which /kère/ is the only example in standard use; the other to an ablative singular noun. Some of these are, in fact related to nouns, so that the postpositions can be considered as the locative and ablative cases of the nouns. Some important examples are:

/wɪc/	'in'	/wɪccõ/	'from inside'
/əndər/	'inside'	/əndrõ/	'from inside'
/bár/	'outside'	/bárõ/	'from outside'
/ʊtte/ ~ /te/	'on'	/ʊttõ/ ~ /tõ/	'from above'

/thelle/	'under'	/thellɪõ/	'from below'
/nal̲/	'with'	/nal̲õ/	'from with'
/kol̲/	'near'	/kol̲õ/	'from near'
/bɪn̲a/	'without'	/bɪn̲õ/	'without'
/pɪcche/	'after'	/pɪcchõ/	'from behind'
/egge/	'in front of'	/eggõ/	'from before'
/wel/	'towards'	/wellõ/	'from the direction of'

/de/ cannot precede the shortened forms, /te/ 'on' or /tõ/ 'from on' but can be used with the longer equivalent forms /ʊtte/ or /ʊttõ/.

The /de/ which occurs optionally between nouns and postpositions of group 3 is best considered as the masculine singular oblique of /da/. It is not used after pronouns, but the genitive form of the pronoun is used.

/món̲ nal̲/ ~ /món̲ de nal̲/	'with Mohan'
/mere nal̲/	'with me'

Moreover the postpositions which may follow /de/ are all comparable to nouns of paradigm I, e.g., /bár/ /bárõ/, or II, e.g., /thelle/ /thellɪõ/, that is to masculine nouns.

5.14 Verbal Auxiliaries

There are two verbal auxiliaries, inflected for person and number:

	Imperfective	Perfective
1st singular	ã	sã
plural	ã	sã
2nd singular	ẽ	sæ̃
plural	o	so ~ sɔ
3rd singular	e ~ a	si
plural	ne ~ a	sən

In standard written language, the third person imperfective is usually /hæ/ ਹੈ singular, and /hən/ ਹਨ plural. These forms are spoken in very formal discourse.

5.15 Causative Extensions

Verb stems may be inflected, or they may be extended to form causatives which are inflected. There are two types of causatives, simple and double. Some verb stems have both, some only one. In general, the simple causative is formed by adding /-a-/, the double by /-wa-/. Verbs are customarily cited in the infinitive form. By a regular rule, /-a-/ and /-wa-/ become /-ɔ-/ and /-wɔ-/ before the suffix /-n̲a/. In the following examples, both the stems and the infinitives are cited. There are commonly alternations in the stems before causative extensions. These are detailed in the following paragraphs. In all types, the tone shifts to the extension, but remains the same unless noted.

1. In monosyllabic verbal stems with final consonants, the vowel always becomes /ə/ before causative extensions. Gemination, if present, is simplified.

/jʊr̲-/	/jʊr̲n̲a/	'to become stitched'
/jər̲ā-/	/jər̲ɔ̄n̲a/	'to stitch'
/jər̲wā-/	/jər̲wɔn̲a/	'to cause to stitch'
/sʊt̲t̲-/	/sʊt̲t̲ən̲a/	'to throw'
/sət̲ā-/	/sət̲ɔ̄n̲a/	'to cause to throw'
/sət̲wā-/	/sət̲wɔ̄n̲a/	'to cause to make throw'
/pʊ̀n-/	/pʊ̀nn̲a/	'to roast'
/pənà-/	/pənɔ̀n̲a/	'to cause to roast'
/pənwà-/	/pənwɔ̀n̲a/	'to cause to make roast'

High tones become low in both causatives.

/lə́b-/	/lə́bn̲a/	'to find'
/ləbà-/	/ləbɔ̀n̲a/	'to cause to find'
/ləbwà-/	/ləbwɔ̀n̲a/	'to cause to make find'

2. In monosyllabic stems with final /æ/, the vowel drops before the simple causative extension and becomes /ə/ before the double causative extension.

/pæ-/	/pæn̲a/	'to lie down'
/pa-/	/pɔn̲a/	'to put down'
/pəwā-/	/pəwɔ̄n̲a/	'to cause to put down'
/t̲æ̀-/	/t̲æ̀n̲a/	'to fall flat'
/t̲à-/	/t̲ɔ̀n̲a/	'to knock down'
/t̲əwà-/	/t̲əwɔ̀n̲a/	'to cause to knock down'

High tones become low in the double causative.

/lǽ-/	/lǽna/	'to get down'
/lá-/	/lóna/	'to pull down'
/ləwà-/	/ləwɔ̀na/	'to cause to pull down'

3. In monosyllabic stems with final /i/, the vowel becomes /ɪ/ in the simple causative. No verbs of this type have double causatives.

/pi-/	/pina/	'to drink'
/pɪā-/	/pɪōna/	'to cause to drink'

High tones become low in the causative.

/pí-/	/pína/	'to grind'
/pɪà-/	/pɪòna/	'to cause to grind'

4. In stems ending in other vowels, the vowel or vowel sequence becomes /ə/. Only double causatives occur.

/co-/	/cona/	'to milk'
/cəwā-/	/cəwōna/	'to cause to milk'
/sɪū-/	/sɪūna/	'to sew'
/səwā-/	/səwōna/	'to cause to sew'

5. In disyllabic stems ending in consonants, the vowel of the first syllable becomes /ə/ and the vowel of the second syllable is dropped before causative extensions. If the medial consonant is geminated, it becomes simple. Only the simple causative occurs:

/mʊkkər-/	/mʊkkərna/	'to deny'
/məkrā-/	/məkrɔ̄n̲a/	'to cause to deny'
/ʊggər̲-/	/ʊggər̲n̲a/	'to show up'
/əgr̲ā-/	/əgr̲ɔ̄n̲a/	'to cause to show up'

Some verb stems are not used in the causative. Others are used in only one of the two. Only a relatively small number occur in both causatives. When only one causative occurs, its meaning is normally to cause to do the action designated by the primary stem. When both causatives occur, the simple causative is in meaning causative of the primary, the double causative is causative of the simple causative.

5.16 Basic Verb Paradigm

A verb stem, primary or causative, may be inflected giving the forms exhibited in the following paradigms. They are not glossed in this section. Most of the forms cannot be satisfactorily translated in isolation. Meanings will, however, be described for various verb phrases into which these forms enter (see 7.6). The labels are arbitrary. They will serve to identify the forms, but do not give much information about the use or meanings.

Gurmukhi spellings are given for the verb paradigms because many of the spellings do not follow simply by application of spelling rules (see 4.11). Many of the spellings are morphophonemic, that is, a normalized ending is added to a normalized stem. Certain stem changes are thus unrepresented. The spellings, therefore, show less variety than do the pronunciations.

In this section only one verb is shown, /cūpn̲a/ 'to suck'. All forms are given in full. This verb is selected as exhibiting no stem changes and taking affixes in normal form. Additional verb paradigms show typical stem alternations and alternative affix forms are given in the next section. References in this paradigm are to sections discussing the forms.

	masculine	feminine		
Bare stem ( )	cūp		ਚੂਪ	
Present I (5.18)	cūpna	cūpni	ਚੂਪਣਾ	ਚੂਪਣੀ
	cūpne	cūpniā̃	ਚੂਪਣੇ	ਚੂਪਣੀਆਂ
Present II (5.18)	cūpda	cūpdi	ਚੂਪਦਾ	ਚੂਪਦੀ
	cūpde	cūpdiā̃	ਚੂਪਦੇ	ਚੂਪਦੀਆਂ
Pres. Perf. (5.18)	cūpdɪā̃		ਚੂਪਦਿਆਂ	
Past (5.19)	cūpɪa	cūpi	ਚੂਪਿਆ	ਚੂਪੀ
	cūpe	cūpiā̃	ਚੂਪੇ	ਚੂਪੀਆਂ
Past Perf. (5.19)	cūpɪā̃		ਚੂਪਿਆਂ	

Future (5.20)				
1st sg.	cúpuŋga	cúpungi	ਚੁਪੂੰਗਾ	ਚੁਪੂੰਗੀ
pl.	cúpaŋge	cúpaŋgiā̃	ਚੁਪਾਂਗੇ	ਚੁਪਾਂਗੀਆਂ
2nd sg.	cúpeŋga	cúpengi	ਚੁਪੇਂਗਾ	ਚੁਪੇਂਗੀ
pl.	cúpoge	cúpogiā̃	ਚੁਪੋਗੇ	ਚੁਪੋਗੀਆਂ
3rd sg.	cúpega	cúpegi	ਚੁਪੇਗਾ	ਚੁਪੇਗੀ
pl.	cúpen̲g̲e	cúpen̲g̲iā̃	ਚੁਪਣਗੇ	ਚੁਪਣਗੀਆਂ
Short Future (5.20)				
1st sg.	cúpū̃		ਚੁਪੂੰ	
3rd sg.	cúpu		ਚੁਪੂ	
Hortative (5.21)				
1st sg.	cūpā̃		ਚੁਪਾਂ	
pl.	cūpie		ਚੁਪੀਏ	
2nd sg.	cūpẽ		ਚੁਪੇਂ	
pl.	cūpo		ਚੁਪੋ	
3rd sg.	cūpe		ਚੁਪੇ	
pl.	cúpən̲		ਚੁਪਣ	
Optative (5.22)	cūpida	cūpidi	ਚੁਪੀਦਾ	ਚੁਪੀਦੀ
	cūpide	cūpidiā̃	ਚੁਪੀਦੇ	ਚੁਪੀਦੀਆਂ
Imperative (5.23)				
Ordinary sg.	cūp		ਚੁਪ	
pl.	cúpo		ਚੁਪੋ	

Polite sg.	cūpĩ	ਚੁਪੀਂ
pl.	cūpɪo	ਚੁਪਿਉ
Infinitives (5.24)		
simple	cūpn̲a	ਚੁਪਣਾ
Conditional	cūpən̲	ਚੁਪਣ
Imperfective	cūpn̲o	ਚੁਪਣੋ

5.17 Additional Verb Paradigms

Abbreviated paradigms are given here for certain verbs to illustrate important types of stem alternation and some of the allomorphs of certain suffixes. In general, those forms inflected for number and gender (see 5.5) are given in one form only, usually masculine singular. The number gender suffix is separated from the stem by a hyphen. Thus /peun-a/ stands for /peuna pəune pəuni pəuniã/. The only exception is in the past, where two forms are given, the masculine singular and the masculine plural. Both feminine forms are to be formed on the stem seen in the masculine plural. Thus, /paɪa pa-e/ stands for a full paradigm /paɪa pae pai paiã/.

	1. pōn̲a 'to put'	2. lón̲a 'to pull down'	3. nòn̲a 'to bathe'
Bare stem	pa ਪਾ	lá ਲਾਹ	nà ਨ੍ਹਾ
Pres. I	peūn-a ਪਾਉਨਾ	leún-a ਲਾਹੁਨਾ	neùn-a ਨ੍ਹਾਉਨਾ
Pres. II	peūnd-a ਪਾਉਂਦਾ	leúnd-a ਲਾਹੁੰਦਾ	neùnd-a ਨ੍ਹਾਉਂਦਾ
Pres. Perf.	peūndɪã ਪਾਉਂਦਿਆਂ	leúndɪã ਲਾਹੁੰਦਿਆਂ	neùndɪã ਨ੍ਹਾਉਂਦਿਆਂ
Past	pāɪa ਪਾਇਆ	láɪa ਲਾਹਿਆ	nàɪa ~ nàta ਨ੍ਹਾਇਆ ਨ੍ਹਾਤਾ
	pā-e ਪਾਏ	lá-e ਲਾਹੇ	nà-e ~ nàt-e ਨ੍ਹਾਏ ਨ੍ਹਾਤੇ
Past Perf.	paɪã ਪਾਇਆਂ	láɪã ਲਾਹਿਆਂ	nàɪã ~ nàtɪã ਨ੍ਹਾਇਆਂ ~ ਨ੍ਹਾਤਿਆਂ
Future 1st sg.	páuŋg-a ਪਾਊਂਗਾ	láuŋg-a ਲਾਹੂੰਗਾ	nàuŋg-a ਨ੍ਹਾਊਂਗਾ
pl.	páwaŋg-e ਪਾਂਵਾਂਗੇ	láwaŋg-e ਲਾਂਹਵਾਂਗੇ	nàwaŋg-e ਨ੍ਹਾਵਾਂਗੇ
2nd sg.	páeŋg-a ਪਾਏਂਗਾ	láeŋg-a ਲਾਹੇਂਗਾ	nàeŋg-a ਨ੍ਹਾਏਂਗਾ
pl.	páog-e ਪਾਓਗੇ	láog-e ਲਾਹੋਗੇ	nàog-e ਨ੍ਹਾਓਗੇ
3rd sg.	páeg-a ਪਾਏਗਾ	láeg-a ਲਾਹੇਗਾ	nàeg-a ਨ੍ਹਾਏਗਾ
pl.	pón̲g̲-e ਪਾਉਣਗੇ	lón̲g̲-e ਲਾਹੁਣਗੇ	nòn̲g̲-e ਨ੍ਹਾਉਣਗੇ
Short Fut. 1st sg.	páũ ਪਾਊਂ	láũ ਲਾਹੂੰ	nàũ ਨ੍ਹਾਊਂ
3rd sg.	páu ਪਾਊ	láu ਲਾਹੂ	nàu ਨ੍ਹਾਊ

	1. pona	2. lóna	3. nòna
Hortative **1st sg.**	**pāwā̃**	**láwā̃**	**nàwā̃**
	ਪਾਂਵਾਂ	ਲਾਹਵਾਂ	ਨ੍ਹਾਵਾਂ
pl.	**páie**	**láie**	**nàie**
	ਪਾਈਏ	ਲਾਹੀਏ	ਨ੍ਹਾਈਏ
2nd sg.	**pāẽ**	**láẽ**	**nàẽ**
	ਪਾਏਂ	ਲਾਹੇਂ	ਨ੍ਹਾਏਂ
pl.	**páo**	**láo**	**nào**
	ਪਾਓ	ਲਾਹੋ	ਨ੍ਹਾਓ
3rd sg.	**pāe**	**láe**	**nàe**
	ਪਾਏ	ਲਾਹੇ	ਨ੍ਹਾਏ
pl.	**pón**	**lón**	**nòn**
	ਪਾਉਣ	ਲਾਹੁਣ	ਨ੍ਹਾਉਣ
Optative	**pāid-a**	**láid-a**	**nàid-a**
	ਪਾਈਦਾ	ਲਾਹੀਦਾ	ਨ੍ਹਾਈਦਾ
Imperative **ord. sg.**	**pā**	**lá**	**nà**
	ਪਾ	ਲਾਹ	ਨ੍ਹਾ
ord. pl.	**páo**	**láo**	**nào**
	ਪਾਉ	ਲਾਹੋ	ਨ੍ਹਾਉ
pol. sg.	**pāĩ**	**láĩ**	**nàĩ**
	ਪਾਈਂ	ਲਾਹੀਂ	ਨ੍ਹਾਈਂ
pol. pl.	**pāɪo**	**láɪo**	**nàɪo**
	ਪਾਇਉ	ਲਾਹਿਉ	ਨ੍ਹਾਇਉ
Infinitive **Simple**	**pōna**	**lóna**	**nòna**
	ਪਾਉਣਾ	ਲਾਹੁਣਾ	ਨ੍ਹਾਉਣਾ
conditional	**pōn**	**lán**	**nòn**
	ਪਾਉਣ	ਲਾਹੁਣ	ਨ੍ਹਾਉਣ
imperf.	**pōno**	**lóno**	**nòno**
	ਪਾਉਣੋ	ਲਾਹੁਣੋ	ਨ੍ਹਾਉਣੋ

	4. pòn̲a̲ 'to wander'	5. sõn̲a̲ 'to sleep'	6. kerõn̲a̲ 'to cause to do'
Bare stem	pò ਭੌਂ	sõ ਸੌਂ	kerã ਕਰਾ
Pres. I	peùn-a ਭੌਂਣਾ	seũn-a ਸੌਂਣਾ	kerõna ਕਰਾਉਣਾ
Pres. II	peùnd-a ਭੌਂਦਾ	seũnd-a ਸੌਂਦਾ	kerõnd-a ਕਰਾਉਂਦਾ
Pres. Perf.	peùndɪã ਭੌਂਦਿਆਂ	seũndɪã ਸੌਂਦਿਆਂ	kerõndɪã ਕਰਾਉਂਦਿਆਂ
Past	pèwɪa ਭੌਂਵਿਆ	sũtta ~ sõɪa ਸੁੱਤਾ ਸੌਂਵਿਆਂ	kerãɪa ਕਰਾਇਆ
masc. pl.	pèwe ਭੌਂਵੇਂ	sũtt-e ~ sõ-e ਸੁੱਤੇ ਸੌਂਏਂ	kerã-e ਕਰਾਏ
Past. Perf.	pèwɪa ਭੌਂਵਿਆਂ	sũttɪã ~ sõɪa ਸੁੱਤਿਆਂ ਸੌਂਇਆਂ	kerãɪã ਕਰਾਇਆਂ
Future 1st sg.	pòuŋg-a ਭੌਂਉਂਗਾ	sóuŋg-a ਸੌਂਉਂਗਾ	keráuŋg-a ਕਰਾਉਂਗਾ
pl.	pèwaŋg-e ਭੌਂਵਾਂਗੇ	séwaŋg-e ਸੌਂਵਾਂਗੇ	keráwaŋg-e ਕਰਾਵਾਂਗੇ
2nd sg.	pòeŋg-a ਭੌਂਏਂਗਾ	sóeŋg-a ਸੌਂਏਂਗਾ	keráeŋg-a ਕਰਾਏਂਗਾ
pl.	pèwoŋg-e ਭੌਂਵੋਗੇ	séwoŋg-e ਸੌਂਵੋਗੇ	keráog-e ਕਰਾਉਗੇ
3rd sg.	pòeŋg-a ਭੌਂਏਗਾ	sóeŋg-a ਸੌਂਏਗਾ	keráeg-a ਕਰਾਏਗਾ
pl.	pòn̲g̲-e ਭੌਂਣਗੇ	són̲g̲-e ਸੌਂਣਗੇ	kerón̲g̲-e ਕਰਾਉਣਗੇ
Short Fut. 1st sg.	pòũ ਭੌਂਊਂ	sóũ ਸੌਂਊਂ	keráũ ਕਰਾਊਂ
3rd sg.	pòũ ਭੌਂਊ	sóũ ਸੌਂਊ	keráu ਕਰਾਊ

	4. pòṉa	5. sōṉa	6. kérōṉa
Hortative 1st sg.	pèwã ਭੌਵਾਂ	sōwã ਸੌਵਾਂ	kerāwã ਕਰਾਵਾਂ
pl.	pòiẽ ਭੌਵੀਏਂ	sōiẽ ~ sōwiẽ ਸੌਵੀਏਂ	keráie ਕਰਾਈਏ
2nd sg.	pèwẽ ਭੌਵੇਂ	sōwẽ ਸੌਵੇਂ	kerāẽ ਕਰਾਂਏਂ
pl.	pèwõ ਭੌਵੋਂ	sewõ ਸੌਵੋਂ	keráo ਕਰਾਉ
3rd sg.	pèwẽ ਭੌਵੇਂ	sōwẽ ਸੌਵੇਂ	kerāe ਕਰਾਏ
pl.	pòṉ ਭੌਣ	sóṉ ਸੌਣ	keróṉ ਕਰਾਉਣ
Optative	pòind-a ਭੌਂਈਦਾ	sōind-a ਸੌਂਈਦਾ	kerāid-a ਕਰਾਈਦਾ
Imperative ord. sg.	pò̃ ਭੌਂ	sō̃ ਸੌਂ	kerā ਕਰਾ
ord. pl.	pèwõ ਭੌਵੋਂ	séwõ ਸੌਵੋ	keráo ਕਰਾਉ
pol. sg.	pèwĩ ਭੌਵੀਂ	sewĩ ਸੌਵੀਂ	kerāĩ ਕਰਾਂਈਂ
pol. pl.	pòɪõ ਭੌਵਿਉਂ	sōɪõ ਸੌਵਿਉਂ	kerāɪo ਕਰਾਇਉ
Infinitive simple	pòṉa ਭੌਣਾ	sōṉa ਸੌਣਾ	kerōṉa ਕਰਾਉਣਾ
condit.	pòṉ ਭੌਣ	sōṉ ਸੌਣ	kerōṉ ਕਰਾਉਣ
imperf.	pòṉo ਭੌਣੋਂ	sōṉo ਸੌਣੋਂ	kerōṉo ਕਰਾਉਣੋਂ

	7. lǣn̲a 'to take'	8. rǽn̲a 'to live'	9. t̲æ̀n̲a 'to fall'
Bare stem	lǣ ਲੈ	rǽ ਰਹਿ	t̲æ̀ ਢੈ
Pres. I	leɪ̄n-a ਲੈਨਾ	reɪ́n-a ਰਹਿਨਾ	t̲eɪ̀n-a ਢੈਨਾ
Pres. II	leɪ̄nd-a ਲੈਂਦਾ	reɪ́nd-a ਰਹਿੰਦਾ	t̲eɪ̀nd-a ਢੈਂਦਾ
Pres. Perf.	leɪ̄ndɪã̄ ਲੈਂਦਿਆਂ	reɪ́ndɪã̄ ਰਹਿੰਦਿਆਂ	t̲eɪ̀ndɪã̄ ਢੈਂਦਿਆਂ
Past	lɪā ਲਿਆ	rɪá ਰਿਹਾ	t̲ɪà ਢਇਆ
masc. pl.	le-ē ਲਏ	re-é ਰਹੇ	t̲e-è ਢਏ
Past Perf.	lɪã̄ ਲਿਆਂ	rɪã́ ਰਿਹਾਂ	t̲ɪã̀ ਢਇਆਂ
Future 1st sg.	leúŋg-a ਲਊਂਗਾ	reúŋg-a ਰਹੂੰਗਾ	t̲eùŋg-a ਢਊਂਗਾ
pl.	léwaŋg-e ਲਵਾਂਗੇ	réwaŋg-e ਰਹਾਂਗੇ	t̲èwaŋg-e ਢਵਾਂਗੇ
2nd sg.	léweŋg-a ਲਵੇਂਗਾ	réweŋg-a ਰਹੇਂਗਾ	t̲èweŋg-a ਢਵੇਂਗਾ
pl.	léwog-e ਲਵੋਗੇ	réwog-e ਰਹੋਗੇ	t̲èwog-e ਢਵੋਗੇ
3rd sg.	léweg-a ਲਵੇਗਾ	réweg-a ਰਹੇਗਾ	t̲èweg-a ਢਵੇਗਾ
pl.	lǽn̲g-e ਲੈਣਗੇ	rǽn̲g-e ਰਹਿਣਗੇ	t̲æ̀n̲g-e ਢੈਣਗੇ
Short Fut. 1st sg.	leū́ ਲਊਂ	reū́ ਰਹੂੰ	t̲eū̀ ਢਊਂ
3rd sg.	leú ਲਊ	reú ਰਹੂ	t̲eù ਢਊ

	7. lǣṉa	8. rǽṉa	9. ṯæ̀ṉa
Hortative 1st sg.	lõwã ਲੋਵਾਂ	réwã ਰਹਾਂ	ṯèwã ਢਿਵਾਂ
pl.	leīe ਲਈਏ	reíe ਰਹੀਏਂ	ṯeìe ਢਈਏ
2nd sg..	lõwẽ ਲਏਂ	réwẽ ਰਹੇਂ	ṯèwẽ ਢਏਂ
pl.	léwo ਲਉ	réwo ਰਹੋ	ṯèwo ਢਉ
3rd sg.	lõwe ਲਏ	réwe ਰਹੇ	ṯèwe ਢਏ
pl.	lǽṉ ਲੈਣ	rǽṉ ਰਹਿਣ	ṯæ̀ṉ ਢੈਣ
Optative	leīd-a ਲਈਦਾ	reíd-a ਰਹੀਦਾ	ṯeìd-a ਢਈਦਾ
Imperative ord. sg.	lǣ ਲੈ	rǽ ਰਹਿ	ṯæ̀ ਢੈ
ord. pl.	ló ~ léwo ਲਉ	ró ~ réwo ਰਹੋ	ṯò ~ ṯèwo ਢਉ
pol. sg.	leī ਲਈਂ	reí ਰਹੀਂ	ṯeì ਢਈਂ
pol. pl.	lɪõ ਲਿਉ	rɪ́ó ਰਿਹੋ	ṯɪò ਢਇਉ
Infinitive simple	lǣṉa ਲੈਣਾ	rǽṉa ਰਹਿਣਾ	ṯæ̀ṉa ਢੈਣਾ
condit.	lǣṉ ਲੈਣ	rǽṉ ਰਹਿਣ	ṯæ̀ṉ ਢੈਣ
imperf.	lǣṉo ਲੈਣੋਂ	rǽṉo ਰਹਿਣੋਂ	ṯæ̀ṉo ਢੈਣੋਂ

	10. pIna 'to drink'	11. pína 'to grind'	12. sɪūna 'to sew'
Bare Stem	pI ਪੀ	pí ਪੀਹ	sɪū̃ ਸਿਊਂ
Pres. I	pIn-a ਪੀਣਾ	pín-a ਪੀਹਣਾ	sɪūn-a ਸਿਊਣਾ
Pres. II	pInd-a ਪੀਂਦਾ	pínd-a ਪੀਂਹਦਾ	sɪūnd-a ਸਿਊਂਦਾ
Pres. Perf.	pIndɪã ਪੀਂਦਿਆਂ	píndɪã ਪੀਂਹਦਿਆਂ	sɪūndɪã ਸਿਊਂਦਿਆਂ
Past	pIta ਪੀਤਾ	pItha ਪੀਠਾ	sIta ਸੀਤਾ
masc. pl.	pIt-e ਪੀਤੇ	pIth-e ਪੀਠੇ	sIt-e ਸੀਤੇ
Past Perf.	pItɪã ਪੀਤਿਆਂ	pithɪã ਪੀਠਿਆਂ	sItɪã ਸੀਤਿਆਂ
Future 1st sg.	píuŋg-a ਪੀਊਂਗਾ	píuŋg-a ਪੀਹੂੰਗਾ	síuŋg-a ਸੀਊਂਗਾ
pl.	píaŋg-e ਪੀਆਂਗੇ	píaŋg-e ਪੀਹਾਂਗੇ	síaŋg-e ਸੀਆਂਗੇ
2nd sg.	píeŋg-a ਪੀਏਂਗਾ	píeŋg-a ਪੀਹੇਂਗਾ	síeŋg-a ਸੀਏਂਗਾ
pl.	píog-e ਪੀਓਗੇ	píog-e ਪੀਹੋਗੇ	síog-e ਸੀਓਗੇ
3rd sg.	píeg-a ਪੀਏਗਾ	píeg-a ਪੀਹੇਗਾ	síeg-a ਸੀਏਗਾ
pl.	píng-e ਪੀਣਗੇ	píng-e ਪੀਹਣਗੇ	síng-e ਸੀਣਗੇ
Short Fut. 1st sg.	píũ ਪੀਊਂ	píũ ਪੀਹੂੰ	síũ ਸੀਊਂ
3rd sg.	píu ਪੀਊ	píu ਪੀਹੂ	síu ਸੀਊ

	10. pIṉa	11. píṉa	12. sɪūṉa
Hortative 1st sg.	pIã ~ pIwã ਪੀਆਂ	píã ~ piwã ਪੀਹਾਂ	sIã ~ sIwã ਸੀਵਾਂ
pl.	píe ਪੀਏ	píe ਪੀਹ.	síe ਸੀਏ
2nd sg.	pIẽ ਪੀਏਂ	píẽ ਪੀਹੇਂ	sIẽ ਸੀਏਂ
pl.	pío ਪੀਉ	pío ਪੀਹੋ	sío ਸੀਉ
3rd sg.	pIe ਪੀਏ	píe ਪੀਹੇ	sIe ਸੀਏ
pl.	píṉ ਪੀਣ	píṉ ਪੀਹਣ	sɪúṉ ਸਿਊਣ
Optative	pIda ~ pIida ਪੀਂਈਦਾ	pída ~ píida ਪੀਹੀਦਾ	sIda ~ sIida ਸੀਈਦਾ
Imperative ord. sg.	pI ਪੀ	pí ਪੀਹ	sɪū̃ ਸਿਊਂ
ord. pl.	pío ਪੀਉ	pío ਪੀਹੋ	sío ਸੀਉ
pol. sg.	pIwI ਪੀਵੀਂ	píwI ਪੀਂਹਵੀਂ	sIwI ਸੀਂਵੀਂ
pol. pl.	pIo ਪੀਉ	pío ਪੀਹੋ	sIo ਸੀਉ
Infinitive simple	pIṉa ਪੀਣਾ	píṉa ਪੀਹਣਾ	sɪūṉa ਸਿਊਣਾ
condit.	pIṉ ਪੀਣ	píṉ ਪੀਹਣ	sɪūṉ ਸਿਊਣ
imperf.	pIṉo ਪੀਣੋਂ	píṉo ਪੀਹਣੋਂ	sɪūṉo ਸਿਊਣੋਂ

	13. kʊttena 'to beat'	14. bénna 'to bind'	15. bōlna 'to say'
Bare Stem	kʊ̄t ਕੁਟ	bén ਬੰਨ੍ਹ	bōl ਬੋਲ
Pres. I	kʊ̄tn-a ਕੁਟਨਾ	bénn-a ਬੰਨ੍ਹਨਾ	bōln-a ਬੋਲਣਾ
Pres. II	kʊ̄td-a ਕੁਟਦਾ	bénd-a ਬੰਨ੍ਹਦਾ	bōld-a ਬੋਲਦਾ
Pres. Perf.	kʊ̄tdɪã ਕੁਟਦਿਆਂ	béndɪã ਬੰਨ੍ਹਦਿਆਂ	bōldɪã ਬੋਲਦਿਆਂ
Past	kʊ̄ttɪa ਕੁੱਟਿਆ	bénnɪa ਬੰਨ੍ਹਿਆ	bōlɪa ਬੋਲਿਆ
masc. pl.	kʊ̄tt-e ਕੁੱਟੇ	bénn-e ਬੰਨ੍ਹੇ	bōl-e ਬੋਲੇ
Past Perf.	kʊ̄ttɪã ਕੁੱਟਿਆਂ	bénnɪã ਬੰਨ੍ਹਿਆਂ	bōlɪã ਬੋਲਿਆਂ
Future 1st sg.	kʊ́ttuŋg-a ਕੁੱਟੂੰਗਾ	bénnuŋg-a ਬੰਨ੍ਹੂੰਗਾ	bóluŋg-a ਬੋਲੂੰਗਾ
pl.	kʊ́ttaŋg-e ਕੁੱਟਾਂਗੇ	bénnaŋg-e ਬੰਨ੍ਹਾਂਗੇ	bólaŋg-e ਬੋਲਾਂਗੇ
2nd sg.	kʊ́tteŋg-a ਕੁੱਟੇਂਗਾ	bénneŋg-a ਬੰਨ੍ਹੇਂਗਾ	bóleŋg-a ਬੋਲੇਂਗਾ
pl.	kʊ́ttog-e ਕੁੱਟੋਗੇ	bénnoŋg-e ਬੰਨ੍ਹੋਗੇ	bólog-e ਬੋਲੋਗੇ
3rd sg.	kʊ́tteg-a ਕੁੱਟੇਗਾ	bénneŋg-a ਬੰਨ੍ਹੇਂਗਾ	bóleg-a ਬੋਲੇਗਾ
pl.	kʊ́tteng-e ਕੁੱਟਣਗੇ	bénneng-e ਬੰਨ੍ਹਣਗੇ	bóleng-e ਬੋਲਣਗੇ
Short Fut. 1st sg.	kʊ́ttū̃ ਕੁੱਟੂੰ	bénnū̃ ਬੰਨ੍ਹੂੰ	bólū̃ ਬੋਲੂੰ
3rd sg.	kʊ́ttu ਕੁੱਟੂ	bénnu ਬੰਨ੍ਹੂ	bólu ਬੋਲੂ

	13. kūt̲t̲en̲a	14. bénn̲a	15. bōl̲n̲a
Hortative 1st sg.	kūt̲t̲ā̃ ਕੁੱਟਾਂ	bénnā̃ ਬੰਨ੍ਹਾਂ	bōlā̃ ਬੋਲਾਂ
pl.	kūt̲t̲ie ਕੁੱਟੀਏ	bénnie ਬੰਨ੍ਹੀਏ	bōlie ਬੋਲੀਏ
2nd sg.	kūt̲t̲ē̃ ਕੁੱਟੇਂ	bénnē̃ ਬੰਨ੍ਹੇਂ	bōlē̃ ਬੋਲੇਂ
pl.	kút̲t̲o ਕੁੱਟੋ	bénno ਬੰਨ੍ਹੋ	bólo ਬੋਲੋ
3rd sg.	kūt̲t̲e ਕੁੱਟੇ	bénne ਬੰਨ੍ਹੇ	bōle ਬੋਲੇ
pl.	kūt̲t̲en̲ ਕੁੱਟਣ	bénnen̲ ਬੰਨ੍ਹਣ	bólen̲ ਬੋਲਣ
Optative	kūt̲t̲id-a ਕੁੱਟੀਦਾ	bénnind-a ਬੰਨ੍ਹੀਦਾ	bōlid-a ਬੋਲੀਦਾ
Imperative ord. sg.	kūt̲ ਕੁਟ	bén ਬੰਨ੍ਹ	bōl ਬੋਲ
ord. pl.	kút̲t̲o ਕੁੱਟੋ	bénno ਬੰਨ੍ਹੋ	bólo ਬੋਲੋ
pol. sg.	kūt̲t̲ī ਕੁੱਟੀਂ	bénnī ਬੰਨ੍ਹੀਂ	bōlī ਬੋਲੀਂ
pol. pl.	kūt̲t̲ɪo ਕੁੱਟਿਉ	bénnɪo ਬੰਨ੍ਹਿਉ	bōlɪo ਬੋਲਿਉ
Infinitive simple	kūt̲t̲en̲a ਕੁੱਟਣਾ	bénn̲a ਬੰਨ੍ਹਣਾ	bōl̲n̲a ਬੋਲਣਾ
condit.	kūt̲t̲en̲ ਕੁੱਟਣ	bénnen̲ ਬੰਨ੍ਹਣ	bōl̲en̲ ਬੋਲਣ
imperf.	kūt̲t̲en̲o ਕੁਟਣੋ	bénn̲o ਬੰਨ੍ਹਣੋ	bōl̲n̲o ਬੋਲਣੋ

	16. jan̲a 'to go'	17. hon̲a 'to be'	18. jān̲n̲a 'to know'
Bare Stem	jā ਜਾ	hō ਹੋ	jān̲ ਜਾਣ
Pres. I	jān-a ਜਾਨਾ	hūnn-a ਹੁੰਨਾ	jānn-a ਜਾਨਨਾ
Pres. II	jānd-a ਜਾਂਦਾ	hūnd-a ਹੁੰਦਾ	jān̲d-a ਜਾਣਦਾ
Pres. Perf.	jāndɪã ਜਾਂਦਿਆਂ	hūndɪã ਹੁੰਦਿਆਂ	jān̲dɪã ਜਾਣਦਿਆਂ
Past	gɪā ਗਿਆ	hōɪa ਹੋਇਆ	jān̲ɪa ਜਾਣਿਆ
masc. pl.	ge-ē ਗਏ	hō-e ਹੋਏ	jā́n̲-e ਜਾਣੇ
Past. Perf.	gɪā̃ ਗਿਆਂ	hōɪã ਹੋਇਆਂ	jān̲ɪã ਜਾਣਿਆਂ
Future 1st sg.	jáuŋg-a ਜਾਊਂਗਾ	hóuŋg-a ਹੋਊਂਗਾ	ján̲uŋg-a ਜਾਣੂੰਗਾ
pl.	jáwaŋg-e ਜਾਵਾਂਗੇ	hóaŋg-e ਹੋਆਂਗੇ	ján̲aŋg-e ਜਾਣਾਂਗੇ
2nd sg.	jáeŋg-a ਜਾਏਂਗਾ	hóeŋg-a ਹੋਏਂਗਾ	ján̲eŋg-a ਜਾਣੇਂਗਾ
pl.	jáog-e ਜਾਉਗੇ	hówog-e ਹੋਵੋਗੇ	ján̲oŋg-e ਜਾਣੋਗੇ
3rd sg.	jáeg-a ਜਾਏਗਾ	hóeg-a ਹੋਏਗਾ	ján̲eŋg-a ਜਾਣੇਗਾ
pl.	ján̲g̲-e ਗਾਣਗੇ	hón̲g̲-e ਹੋਣਗੇ	jánen̲g̲-e ਜਾਨਣਗੇ
Short Fut. 1st sg.	jáū̃ ਜਾਊਂ	hóū̃ ਹੋਊਂ	ján̲ū̃ ਜਾਣੂੰ
3rd sg.	jáu ਜਾਊ	hóu ਹੋਊ	ján̲u ਜਾਣੂ

	16. jana	17. hona	18. jānna
Hortative 1st sg.	jāwā̃ ਜਾਂਵਾਂ	hōā̃ ਹੋਆਂ	jānā̃ ਜਾਂਣਾਂ
pl.	jāie ਜਾਈਏ	hōie ਹੋਈਏ	jānie ਜਾਣੀਏ
2nd sg.	jāẽ ਜਾਏਂ	hōẽ ਹੋਏਂ	jānẽ ਜਾਂਣੇਂ
pl.	jáo ਜਾਉ	hówo ਹੋਵੋ	jáno ਜਾਣੋ
3rd sg.	jāe ਜਾਏ	hōe ਹੋਏ	jāne ਜਾਣੇ
pl.	ján ਜਾਣ	hón ਹੋਣ	jánen ਜਾਨਣ
Optative	jāid-a ਜਾਈਦਾ	hōid-a ਹੋਈਦਾ	jānind-a ਜਾਣੀਦਾ
Imperative ord. sg.	já ਜਾਹ	hō ਹੋ	jān ਜਾਣ
ord. pl.	jáo ਜਾਉ	hówo ਹੋਵੋ	jáno ਜਾਣੋ
pol. sg.	jāī ਜਾਂਈਹ	hōī ਹੋਈਂ	jānī ਜਾਂਣੀਂ
pol. pl.	jāɪo ਜਾਇਉ	hōɪo ਹੋਇਉ	jánɪo ਜਾਣਿਉ
Infinitive simple	jāna ਜਾਣਾ	hōna ਹੋਣਾ	jānna ਜਾਨਣਾ
condit.	jān ਜਾਣ	hōn ਹੋਣ	jānen ਜਾਨਣ
imperf.	jāno ਜਾਣੋ	hōno ਹੋਣੋ	jānno ਜਾਨਣੋ

5.18 Present

Three related forms comprise the present system. They are based on the same stem alternants and are conveniently discussed together.

Present I has the suffix /-n-/ followed by the regular adjective inflection for gender and number. The oblique case does not occur.

Present II has the suffix /-d-/ after consonants, /-nd-/ after vowels, followed by the regular adjective inflection for gender and number. As Present II forms can be used as modifiers in nominal phrases, oblique forms may occur. For the latter see 5.8.

The Present Perfect has the suffix of the Present II followed by /-ṛã/, that is, /-dṛã/ after consonants, /-ndṛã/ after vowels. It is not inflected for number or gender.

Stem alternations for the three are generally parallel.

1. Stems ending in /a/ (except /ja/ 'go' and /kha/ 'eat') and stems ending in /ɔ/ (that is, stems having /ɔ/ in the infinitive): The stem vowel is either /eu/ or /ɔ/ in the present system. Both forms are spelled alike.

gɔna 'to sing', stem ga: Pres. I geŭn-a ~ gɔ̆n-a
Pres. II geŭnd-a ~ gɔ̆nd-a
Pres.Perf. geundṛã ~ gɔ̆ndṛã

These forms are in free variation in the speech of some, others use one or the other. /eu/ seems to represent the most typical standard Majhi and is accordingly exhibited in the paradigms, but /e/ is an important alternative form in all cases. Compare paradigms 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.

2. Stems ending in /æ/: The stem vowel is either /ei/ or /æ/ in the present system. Both forms are spelled alike.

bǽṉa 'to sit', stem bǽ: Pres. I beín-a ~ bǽn-a
Pres. II beínd-a ~ bǽnd-a
Pres. Perf. beíndɪã ~ bǽndɪã

The forms in /ei/ seem clearly to be the more representative of standard Majhi, but some speakers use /æ/ and some have the two in free variation. See paradigms 7, 8, 9.

3. Stems with final geminates: The gemination is simplified.

suṯṯeṉa 'to throw', stem suṯṯ: Pres. I suṯn-a
Pres. II suṯd-a
Pres. Perf. suṯdɪã

See paradigm 13, 14.

4. Stems with final /iu/: The stem vowels become /ɪu/ in the present system.

jiuṉa 'to live', stem jiu-: Pres. I jɪūn-a
Pres. II jɪūnd-a
Pres. Perf. jɪūndɪã

See paradigm 12.

5. There are some irregular alternations.

wekhn̲a 'to see', stem wekh:	Pres. I	wén-a	~ wēkhn-a
	Pres. II	wénd-a	~ wēkhd-a
	Pres.Perf.	wéndɪã	~ wēkhdɪã
akhn̲a 'to say', stem akh:	Pres. I	án-a	~ ākhn-a
	Pres. II	ánd-a	~ ākhd-a
	Pres.Perf.	ándɪã	~ ākhdɪã
dɪssen̲a 'to be seen', stem dɪss-:	Pres. I	dɪ́n-a	~ dɪ̄sn-a
	Pres. II	dɪ́nd-a	~ dɪ̄sd-a
	Pres.Perf.	dɪ́ndɪã	~ dɪ̄sdɪã
hon̲a 'to be', stem ho:	Pres. I	hūn-a	
	Pres. II	hūnd-a	
	Pres.Perf.	hūndɪã	

6. Stems ending in /n̲/: The /n̲/ assimilated to /n/ in the Present I only:

manna	stem man̲-	Pres. I	mann-a
		Pres. II	man̲d-a
		Pres.Perf.	man̲dɪã

See paradigm 18.

5.19 Past

Two related forms comprise the Past system. They are conveniently treated together.

The Past is inflected for number and gender, following the regular adjective inflection. As it may occur attributive to nouns, oblique forms occur, but are not listed in the paradigms. Rather than set up a past morpheme with a large number of dissimilar allomorphs largely lexically conditioned, we merely list past-tense stem forms. The productive pattern uses a past-tense suffix /-ɪ-/ added to the normal stem. This, however, is found only in the masculine singular. Elsewhere /-ɪ-/ drops and the gender-number suffixes are added directly to the bare stem, or to the special past-tense stem.

The Past Perfect is formed on the same stem as the Past. The suffix is /-ɪã/. It is not inflected for person or number.

1. The productive pattern for the past makes use of a suffix /-ɪ-/. The form /-ɪ-/ occurs before the /-a/ in the masculine singular; there is no past tense suffix before other gender-number suffixes. As this is an open class, it is not possible to list all the instances, but the following are fairly typical and include some of the commoner stems:

cup-	'suck'	cupɪa	cup-e	etc.
rol̲-	'demolish'	rol̲ɪa	rol̲-e	
a-	'come'	aɪa	a-e	
la-	'stick'	laɪa	la-e	
sȭ-	'sleep'	sȭɪa	sȭ-e	~ sʊtta
nà-	'bathe'	nàɪa	nà-e	~ nàta
perō	'string'	perōɪa	perō-e	~ perōta
ness-	'run'	nessɪa	ness-e	~ net̲t̲ha

All causatives follow this pattern:

jegã-	'wake up'	jegãɪa	jegã-e

2. The past suffix /-ɪ-/ occurs with certain stem alternations: /iu/ /iw/

jiu-	'live'	jiwɪa	jiw-e

/ɔ/ /ẹ̃w/

pɔ̃̀-	'wander'	pẹ̃wɪa	pẹ̃̀w-e

/ŋ/ /ŋg/

táŋ-	'aspire'	táŋgɪa	táŋg-e

3. Stems ending in certain geminate consonants may have pasts without /-ɪ-/ even in the masculine singular. The following are examples. These forms are in free variation.

lébb-	'to find'	lébbɪa	~	lébba
t̲ʊt̲t̲-	'to break'	t̲ʊt̲t̲ɪa	~	t̲ʊt̲t̲a
mecc-	'to flare'	meccɪa	~	mecca
rejj-	'to be satisfied'	rejjɪa	~	rejja
ʊgg	'to sprout'	ʊggɪa	~	ʊgga
net̲t̲h-	'to run'	net̲t̲hɪa	~	net̲t̲ha
wess-	'to rain'	wessɪa	~	wessa

4. The following form the past with /-t-/

pi-	'drink'	pit-a		
nà-	'bathe'	nàt-a	~	nàɪa
tò-	'wash'	tòt-a	~	tòɪa

perõ-	'string'	perõt-a	~	perõɪa
siũ-	'sew'	sit-a		

5. The following form their past with /-tt-/:

sọ̃-	'sleep'	sutt-a	~	sọ̃ɪa
jo-	'yoke'	jutt-a		
de-	'give'	dɪtt-a		

6. The following form their past by adding /-dd-/:

wín-	'prick'	wídda	wídd-e
gún-	'knead'	gúdda	gúdd-e
rín-	'cook'	rídda	rídd-e
bén-	'tie'	bédda	bédd-e

7. The following form their past by adding /-t̲t̲h-/:

ness-	'run'	net̲t̲ha	net̲t̲h-e ~ nessɪa
d̲ǽ-	'get placed'	d̲et̲t̲ha	d̲et̲t̲h-e
t̲æ̀-	'fall flat'	t̲èt̲t̲ha	t̲èt̲t̲h-e ~ t̲ɪà

8. Stems in final /æ/ change this to /e/ which drops before /ɪ/:

læ-	'take'	lɪā	le-ē
pæ-	'lie'	pɪā	pe-ē
rǽ-	'live'	rɪá	re-é
t̲æ̀-	'fall flat'	tɪà	te-è ~ t̲èt̲t̲ha

9. The following verbs form their past stems according to unique patterns:

ja-	'go'	gɪã	ge-ẽ
bæ-	'sit'	beɪt̲h-a	
kha-	'eat'	khád-a	
pí-	'grind'	pit̲h-a	
ker-	'do'	kit-a	

5.20 Future

The future is inflected for person, number, and gender. The following are the normalized forms of the desinences:

		masc.	fem.		free alternates	
1st	sg.	-uŋga	-uŋgi	~	-aŋga	-aŋgi
	pl.	-aŋge	-aŋgiã			
2nd	sg.	-eŋga	-eŋgi			
	pl.	-oge	-ogiã			
3rd	sg.	-ega	-egi	~	-uga	-ugi
	pl.	-n̲ge	-n̲giã			

The alternative forms listed are in free variation with those listed in the main paradigm in the speech of some Panjabis. The standard language, however, prefers the forms given in the paradigms.

There is also a short form of the future used only in the first and third singular. The suffixes are:

1st sg.	-ũ
3rd sg.	-u

These short forms may be considered as the normal futures minus /-ga/ or /-gi/. Accordingly, the short future does not show gender. On the basis of comparison with these shortened forms, the future desinences can be considered as being composed of three successive elements, a person-number marker, /-g-/, and the usual gender-number suffixes:

cúp-uŋ-g-a	cúp-uŋ-g-i	cúp-ũ
cúp-aŋ-g-e	cúp-aŋ-g-iã	
cúp-eŋ-g-a	cúp-eŋ-g-i	
		etc.

All mid-tone stems become high-tone in the future. Low-tone stems, however, remain low. This results in a loss of contrast between mid- and high-tone stems, see paradigms 10 and 11.

The future desinences are subject to the following alternations:

1st sg. /-uŋga -uŋgi/ remains the same after all stems.

After the rather few stems ending in /u/ the normal form of the suffix may be used, or the two successive vowels may coalesce into one. Thus /tùuŋga/ and /tùŋga/ 'I will pull' are alternatives. The first form, with a re-articulated vowel rather than a merely lengthened one is heard most often in learned or very formal speech.

1st pl. /-aŋge -aŋgiã/ becomes /-waŋge -waŋgiã/ after stems ending in /a/ or /e/. See paradigms 1-9, 16.

1st pl. However, forms with /awa/ or /ewa/ are in free variation with more colloquial forms without /w/ and with the vowels coalesced into /a/. Thus:

jáwaŋge	~ jáŋge	'we will go'
léwaŋge	~ láŋge	'we will take'

2nd sg. /-eŋga -eŋgi/ becomes /-weŋga -weŋgi/ after stems ending in /e/, but where the /e/ represents an /ɵ/ in the bare stem, the/ɵ/ may appear instead and the desinence is without /w/. See paradigms 4, 5, 7, 8, 9.

2nd pl. /-oge -ogiã/ becomes /-woge -wogiã/ after stems ending in /e/ and /o/. See paradigms 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 17. However, forms with /ewo/ are in free variation with more colloquial forms without /w/ and with the vowels coalesced into /ɵ/. Thus:

léwoge	~ lɵ́ge	'you will take'

After stems ending in a nasal or a nasalized vowel, the /o/ is automatically (subphonemically) nasalized, and a homorganic nasal is heard before the /g/. We have transcribed this /ŋ/, but this is merely the result of transcription conventions. See paradigms 4, 5, 14, 18.

3rd sg. /-ega -egi/ becomes /-wega -wegi/ after /e/, but where the /e/ represents an /ɵ/ in the bare stem, the /ɵ/ may appear instead and the desinence is without /w/. See paradigms 4, 5, 7, 8, 9. After stems ending in a nasal or a nasalized vowel, the /o/ is automatically nasalized and a /ŋ/ has been written conventionally. See paradigms 4, 5, 14, 18.

3rd pl. /-nge -ngiã/ becomes /-enge -engiã/ after a stem ending in a consonant. See paradigms 13, 14, 15, 18. This desinence follows different stem alternants than all the others. For the forms see below,

1st sg. short future /-ũ/ is the same after all stems, but of course after nasal stems the nasalization on the suffix is non-distinctive. We have written it in the paradigms anyway.

3rd sg. short future /-u/ is the same after all stems, except that after nasal stems there is automatic nasalization. Thus the two short futures become identical in pronunciation in 4, 5, 14, 18.

Note that /nǎoge nàege/ do not have /ŋ/ or nasalization in the desinence because naslization of vowels bearing low tone is not automatic after /n/. See paradigm 3 (see 2.9).

The third person plural future and hortative are built on the same stem alternant as the infinitives, except in the case of verb stems ending in /l/ which retain /l/ here but not in the infinitives. Most stems in /a/ change this to /ə/, but /ja/ 'go' and /kha/ 'eat' do not; see paradigms 1-6, 16. Stems in /iu/ change this to /ɪu/,see paradigm 12. Stems in /n/ change this to /n/, see paradigm 18.

The remaining person-number forms of the future and the hortative as well as the optative are built on stem alternates as follows: Stems in /æ/ change this to /e/, see paradigms 7, 8, 9. Stems in /ɔ̣̃/ change this to /e/, but may retain /ɔ̣̃/ in the second and third person singulars.

5.21 Hortative

The hortative is inflected for person and number, but not for gender. The normal suffixes are as follows:

1st sg.	-ạ̃	
pl.	-ie	
2nd sg..	-ẹ̃	
pl.	-o	(plus high tone with mid-tone stems)
3rd sg.	-e	
pl.	-n	(plus high tone with mid-tone stems)

These suffixes are subject to the following alternations:

1st sg. /-ạ̃/ becomes /-wạ̃/ after /a/ or /e/, see paradigms 1-9, 16. There is free variation between /-ạ̃/ and /-wạ̃/ after stems ending in /i/, see paradigms 10, 11, 12.

1st pl. /-ie/ becomes automatically nasalized after stems ending in nasals. This is not marked in most instances, but where the stem ends in a nasal vowel, the transcription convention requires the nasalization to be written on the ending. See paradigms 4, 5, 14, 18.

2nd sg. /-ẹ̃/ becomes /-wẹ̃/ after /e/. See paradigms 4, 5, 7, 8, 9. After /a/ /-ẹ̃/ and /-wẹ̃/ are in free variation, but the form without /w/ is preferred in the standard language. See paradigms 1, 2, 3,6, 16.

2nd pl. /-o/ becomes /-wo/ after stems ending in /o/, see paradigm 17. This suffix is automatically nasalized after stems ending in nasals. The transcription conventions require this nasalization to be written in some instances. See paradigms 4, 5, 14, 18.

3rd sg. /-e/ becomes /-we/ after /e/, see paradigms 4, 5, 7, 8, 9. This suffix is automatically nasalized after stems ending in nasals. The transcription conventions require this to be written in some instances. See paradigms 4, 5, 14, 18.

3rd pl. /-n/ becomes /-en/ after consonants, see paradigms 13, 14, 15, 18.

The hortative follows the same stem alternants as the future. These are described in 5.20. As in the future, the stem alternants may be different in the third person plural than in all others.

5.22 Optative

The optative is formed by the suffix /-id/ followed by the regular inflectional endings for gender and number. The suffix is added to the same stem alternant as is used in most future and hortative forms. This is described in 5.20.

After stems ending in a nasal the /i/ is automatically nasalized. This nasalized vowel will be followed by an automatic /n/ before the /d/. This has been indicated in the transcriptions in order to conform to conventions. In the case of /pɔ̀inda/ and/sɔ̆inda/, this /n/ is required to indicate the nasalization on the preceding vowels.

Stems ending in /i/ may take either /-id-/ or /-d-/. In the former case, the vowel /i/ is rearticulated rather than merely lengthened. This is a rather unusual sequence in Panjabi, but does occur, particularly in learned or very formal speech.

5.23 Imperative

There are four imperative forms, singular and plural, ordinary and polite. In addition, hortative and infinitive forms can be used to give commands or make requests, see 7.6.

The imperative suffixes are as follows:

Singular Ordinary: no suffix. Stems ending in /a/ and retaining this /a/ in the infinitive, however, mark this form by changing a mid tone to a high: see paradigm 16.

khana 'to eat' stem: kha imperative: khá

Stems ending in geminate consonants simplify following the general phonologic rule: see paradigm 13.

sutt- 'throw' sut

Ordinary Plural: /-o/. This suffix becomes /-wo/ after /o/ and /e/, see paradigms 7, 8, 9, 17. The sequence /ewo/ is in free variation with /ɔ/. After stems ending in nasals or with a nasal preceding the final vowel, the suffix is automatically nasalized, but this need not be written, see paradigms 14 and 18. After stems ending in nasalized vowels, the nasalization continues onto the suffix. Since the last vowel is the conventional place to indicate nasalization, it is written on the suffix, see paradigms 4 and 5. Mid tone becomes high, see paradigms 1, 5-7, 10, 12, 13, 15-18.

The following stem alternations occur both with the ordinary plural and with the polite singular: /ɵ/ becomes /ew/, see paradigms 4 and 5. /æ/ becomes /e/, see paradigms 7, 8, and 9. /ɪu/ becomes /i/, see paradigm 12.

Polite Singular: /-ĩ/. This suffix becomes /-wĩ/ after /i/, see paradigms 10, 11, 12. The nasalization on the suffix need not be written after stems ending in nasals or nasalized vowels, but is indicated redundantly in the transcriptions in paradigms 14 and 18. In paradigms 4 and 5 the indicated nasalization represents either or both the nasalization on the suffix or on the stem. For stem alternations see just above.

Polite Plural: /-ɪo/. This suffix becomes /-o/ with stems ending in /i/, thus neutralizing the contrast with the ordinary plural in some stems, see paradigms 10, 11 and 12.

Stems ending in /æ/ drop the vowel, see paradigms 7, 8 and 9. Stems ending in /ɪu/ change this to /i/, after which the suffix is /-o/, see paradigm 12.

There is the same automatic nasalization as with the ordinary plural, see paradigms 4, 5, 14, 18.

5.24 Infinitives

There are three infinitives in Panjabi. The suffixes are as follows:

Simple Infinitive, /-n̲a/. This becomes /-en̲a/ after geminate consonants, see paradigm 13.

Conditional Infinitive, /-n̲/. This becomes /-en̲/ after consonants, see paradigms 13, 14, 15, 18.

Imperfective Infinitive, /-n̲o/. This becomes /-en̲o/ after geminate consonants. See paradigm 13.

The following stem alternations occur:

/a/ becomes /o/ in most cases. See paradigms 1, 2, 3, and 6.

/a/ remains /a/ in two common verbs, /jan̲a/ 'to go' and /khan̲a/ 'to eat', see paradigm 16.

/l/ becomes /l̲/. See paradigm 15.

/n̲/ becomes /n/. See paradigm 18.

/nn/ becomes /n/ in the simple and imperfective infinitives. After this change, of course, the suffix is /-n̲a/. See paradigm 14.

Stems ending in vowels are automatically nasalized in most cases (see 2.9). This is not written. The nasalization inherent in the stems of some verbs is consequently not identifiable. See paradigms 4 and 5.

5.25 Verb Stems

The description of the verb morphology above is based on the normalized stem of the verb. This is in general identical with the form listed in the paradigms as the bare stem. The latter form can be readily found for any verb by eliciting the following sentence:

ó .... sekda e. 'He can ....'

This bare stem differs from the normalized stem only when the latter ends in a geminate, see paradigms 13 and 14. That this is the case can be easily determined by examining any of several other forms, future, hortative, optative, imperative (except ordinary singular), or infinitive. Perhaps the easiest to elicit is the infinitive, but some other must be used if the stem ends in /n/. If any of these forms has a geminate, the normalized stem does also.

The normalized stem carries all necessary information to indicate all details of inflection except for the past, and the imperative in the case of a few verbs. The necessary additional information can be obtained by eliciting the infinitive and the past.

When the bare stem, and hence the normalized stem, ends in /a/ two inflectional patterns are possible, as exemplified by paradigms 1, 2, 3, 6 and by paradigm 16. The first group has /ɵ/ before the infinitive suffix /-n̲a/, and the second has /a/. The first is much the larger group, but the second includes two very common verbs /ja/ 'go' and /kha/ 'eat'.

Past forms of many verbs are lexically conditioned, and it is therefore necessary to elicit a past form. The masculine singular ordinary past is both the easiest to elicit, and the most satisfactory. This form will tell whether the /-ɪ-/ suffix is used or not. The other gender-number forms and the past perfect are predictable from this, with no complication except in the case of pasts of the form /Cɪa/ where the stem seems to consist of a single consonant. In these cases, the stem in other past forms is always /Ce-/.

The lexical information needed to control verb morphology may be summarized as follows: the normalized stem, the subclass if the normalized stem ends in /a/ seen most easily in the infinitive, and the past stem, best seen in the masculine singular past.

The infinitive, however, is the traditional dictionary entry form, but is inadequate in many instances. It does not distinguish between verbs like /ɔn̲a/ 'come' with stem /a/ and 'sɔn̲a/ 'sleep' with stem /sɔ̃/ Moreover, starting from the stem of the infinitive easily gives the impression that verbs like /sɔn̲a/ are highly irregular, whereas actually the forms (excepting of course the past) follow very directly from the normalized stem /sɔ̃/ by simple rules. Moreover, verbs like /ɔn̲a/ though following from the infinitive by regular rule, require repeated statement of stem alternations /ɔ/ > /a/.

It is worth noting that, because of the partially morphophonemic writing, the normalized stem of a verb is sometimes more readily apparent from the spelling than from the pronunciation. But because the orthography is not wholly morphophonemic, this must be used with care.

5.26 Comparison with Hindi

Panjabi verbal inflection is in general parallel to that of Hindi. For the most part there are comparable forms having comparable function. The two systems can be equated as follows:

bare stem	cup	मार
Present I	cupna	
II	cupda	मारता
Pref	cupdɪã	मारते
Past	cupɪa	मारा
Perf.	cupɪã	मारे
Future	cúpuŋga etc	मारूंगा
short	cúpũ	
Hortative	cupã	मारूं
Optative	cupida	
Imperative	cup	मार
	cúpo	मारो
	cupɪ̃	मारियो
	cupɪo	मारिये

Infinitive	cupna cupen cupno	मारना

Certain significant differences are immediately apparent from this tabulation, and others become evident when the full paradigms are compared. The following are worthy of note:

Hindi lacks the distinction between Present I and Present II. In Panjabi this distinction is limited; Present I is used only in first and second persons.

The Hindi Future can be formed by adding - गा to the Hortative forms. This is true in Panjabi only of the second and third plural. It is also partially true of the second and third singular -- there is a tone difference with verbs having mid-tone on the normalized stems.

Hindi does not have the short future.

There is no Hindi equivalent of the Panjabi optative.

Hindi is best described as having only a single infinitive. This, however, is inflected for case. The Panjabi conditional infinitive is comparable in use to the Hindi oblique, मारने It is not convenient to consider the Panjabi form as an inflected form of the simple infinitive because no other words form obliques in a parallel way. The Panjabi Imperfective Infinitive is, in at least some usages, translated by Hindi मारने से , that is, by the infinitive and a postposition. It is worth noting that the Panjabi form is that which would be expected if the infinitive were inflected like a noun in the ablative case with /-õ/. (Nasalization need not be written after /n̲/. We have listed it as a separate form because of the rather special position of the ablative in Panjabi noun inflection.

CHAPTER 6

NOMINAL PHRASES

6.1 Definition and Classification

We treat in this chapter all those phrases built around nouns, pronouns, adjectives, and postpositions. These have, of course, a variety of structures and a variety of functions, but also certain basic similarities which justify their being treated together.

These phrases may consist of a single word -- a noun, pronoun, adjective, or adverb -- or of constructions of various lengths. They occur in sentences as subjects, three types of complements, and various adjuncts -- especially locative and temporal. Their use in various clause patterns is described in Chapter Eight.

Phrase structure is recursive, that is, phrases may be components of phrases, occasionally through several layers. In general, the heads of these phrases are last, the attributives preceding. Certain types of attributives, however, may occur after the head, and even at some distance from the remainder of the phrases.

Anticipating Chapter Eight, we may classify the phrases into the following types:

1. Typically used as adjuncts:

   a) A noun with or without attributives followed by a postposition of the type inflected for ablative or locative, or /tõ/.

b) A noun or pronoun in the ablative, locative, or oblique case.

c) An adverb.

2. Typically used as main sentence elements:
    - a) A noun with or without attributes in the direct case.
    - b) A pronoun in the dative or instrumental cases.
    - c) A noun with or without attributives and followed by the postposition /ne/ or /nu/.
3. Typically a constituent of a larger phrase, but also occurring as a main sentence element in one clause type:
    - a) An adjective, with or without attributives.
    - b) A pronoun in the genitive case.
    - c) A noun with or without attributives or a pronoun followed by the postposition /da/.

In describing sentence structure, these three types will be abbreviated PP -- from postpositional phrase, the typical representative -- for the first group, NP -- from noun phrase, a representative type, for the second group, and AP -- from adjective phrase -- for the third.

Most PP and NP and many AP are alike in internal structure, differing only in the case of the head word or the type of postposition. They therefore need little separate attention in this chapter.

In this and subsequent chapters examples will be partially parsed by writing under them abbreviations to identify elements. These abbreviations will be written at the beginning of any element and will apply to everything up to the next symbol. If a sentence is not completely marked it may be necessary to indicate the close of an element. This will be done by the use of a closing parenthesis).

A full list of all the abbreviations will be found on page 306 . The following will give the symbols for various parts of speech as used in this chapter:

N	Noun	Num	Numeral
Pr	Pronoun	Neg	Negator
A	Adjective	Crd	Coordinator
P	Postposition	E	Emphatic Particle
C	Connector		
Adv	Adverb		
VP	Verb phrase		

6.2 One Word Phrases

1. Pronouns do not have modifiers, though they can modify other words, particularly nouns. They are most often one word phrases. Those in the direct, instrumental, and dative cases (see 5.5 for the forms) are classified as NP. Those in the ablative case (and the closely related pronoun-

like adverbs) are classified as PP. The pronouns in the genitive case are classified as AP. For examples of the use of these see 6.11, sentences 9, 16, 17.

2. Adverbs do not have modifiers and do not enter phrases as modifiers. They are, therefore, always single-word phrases, but often these phrases are in opposition with other phrases to form complex PPs. Examples can be seen in 6.11, sentences 1 and 17.

3. Postpositions are generally found as the last elements in multiword phrases, but can also occur alone as single-word PPs. For an example see 6.11, sentence 15.

4. Nouns in the direct case frequently occur as NPs. For examples see 6.11, sentences 4, 5, 14.

5. Nouns in the oblique may occur as single-word PPs. See 6.11, sentence 17.

6. Adjectives without modifiers are common as APs. For an example, see 6.11, sentence 16.

6. Nouns in the vocative case generally stand alone as single word phrases of a special type, labeled in the examples as Voc. For an example, see 6.11, sentence 14.

6.3 Modifiers of Nouns

Most modifiers of nouns precede the noun. There are a variety of elements that can be used as noun modifiers. Among them are the following:

1. Adjectives with or without modifiers

cəŋga mʊn̲d̲a	'good boy'
cəŋgi kʊr̲i	'good girl'

Black adjectives agree in gender, number, and case with the head noun when they are of the inflectable type (see 5.8). For examples, see 6.11, sentences 2, 4, 10. Adjectives may be iterated for emphasis:

here here but̲e	'deep green plants'
bót cəŋga mʊn̲d̲a	'very good boy'
séb tõ cəŋga mʊn̲d̲a	'best boy'

Adjective phrases consist of an adjective with various modifiers, see 6.4. For examples see 6.11, sentences 2, 5, 12, 24, 28.

2. Numerals and phrases based on numerals.

ɪk mʊn̲d̲a	'one boy'
tɪn mʊn̲d̲e	'three boys'
car kʊr̲iã	'four girls'

Numerals are inflected to show case only, not gender. The following examples are in the oblique:

tínã mʊn̲d̲ɪã	'three boys'
cárã kʊr̲iã	'four girls'

Higher numbers are phrases, but fall into the same pattern:

do so mʊ̲n̲de	'two hundred boys'

For such phrases see 5.9 and 6.6. For examples see 6.11, sentences 1, 6, 25, 26.

3. Pronouns in the genitive

mera munda	'my boy'
sadi kuri	'our girl'

For the forms of these pronouns, see 5.5. For examples see 6.11, sentences 17, 22.

4. Noun phrases followed by /da/

os admi da munda	'that man's boy'
os admi di kuri	'that man's girl'

For examples see 6.11, sentences 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, etc.

5. Verb phrases with conditional infinitives as head followed by /da/

khan di nit	'intention of eating'

For examples see 6.11, sentences 3, 8.

6. Verb phrases, with either the past or the present I:

pèjja janda munda	'a running boy'
pèjji jandi kuri	'a running girl'
khelōta hoɹa munda	'standing boy'

For an example, see 6.11, sentence 15.

7. Deictic pronouns

é munda	'this boy'
ó munda	'that boy'
ó kuri	'that girl'

For examples see 6.11, sentences 9, 13, 26.

8. Certain pairs of closely related adjectives. It is not clear whether these should be treated as a single modifier, a special kind of Adjective Phrase, or as a sequence of two

adjective modifiers. There are heavy stylistic restrictions on the pairs that can be so used, but the pattern is productive. The usage is rather definitely literary in most cases.

For an example, see 6.11, sentence 20.

9. A type of relative clause introduced by /jo/, /jér̲a/, /jɪs/ or /jínna/, all meaning 'who' or 'what'. These follow the head noun, and indeed follow a postposition if there is one.

ó mʊn̲d̲a jo š́ǽrõ aɪa	'that boy who came from the city.'
ó kʊr̲i jér̲i rondi pəĩ si	'that girl who was crying'
ó admi jínne məĩnu dəssɪa si	'that man who told me'

For further details on these and particularly other uses of these pronouns see chapter 10 . For examples see 6.11, sentences 17, 21.

10. The particle /ji/ may be used to indicate respect. Among its various usages is that following nouns, particularly names and titles. Here it might be considered a modifier of the noun.

ma ji	'Mother'
pɪta ji	'Father'

6.4 Order of Modifiers of Nouns

Nouns may have two or more modifiers. The order of such modifiers is fixed in certain combinations, free in others. In general, phrase modifiers precede single word modifiers.

Examples may be seen in 6.11, sentences 2, 5, 27.

1. Pronouns precede all others, including multi-word verb phrases or adjective phrases.

é ceŋga munda	'this good boy'
mera ɪk munda	'my one boy'
ó pèjja janda munda	'that running boy'

For an example, see 6.11, sentence 13.

2. Numerals precede adjectives or verb phrases, except when the adjective is to be considered as attributive to the numeral; see , sentence 6.

do ceŋge munde	'two good boys'
do pèjje jande munde	'two running boys'

For an example, see 6.11, sentence 15.

3. Deictic pronouns and genitive pronouns do not often occur together, but can occur in either order:

é mera munda	'this boy of mine'
mera é munda	'this boy of mine'

For an example, see 6.11, sentence 26.

4. Verb phrases and adjectives do not often occur together modifying the same noun, but this is possible. Since phrasal modifiers precede single words, the verbal modifier is usually first.

ó nessi jandi puthʊàran kuri	'that running Puthoharan girl'

5. When there are many modifiers, especially if two or more are complex, some may be placed after the head word,

perhaps even at some distance after it. For examples, see 6.11, sentences 19, 20.

6. Sometimes other syntactic rules override and require a modifier to be placed before its head but separated from it. For an example see 6.11, sentences 17, 24.

6.5 Modifiers of Adjectives

Adjectives may have various modifiers, usually preceding the adjective. Among these are:

1. Other adjectives, the commonest being /bót/ and /bera/:

bót ceŋga munda	'very good boy'
bera ceŋga munda	'very good boy'
kuj ceŋga munda	'goodish boy'

/bót/ and kuj/ are red adjectives: /bera/ is a black adjective; it takes the same number-gender-case form as the adjective it precedes, that is, it agrees with the noun which the other adjective modifies.

beriã ceŋgiã kuriã	'very good girls'

These adjectives can be used as modifiers of nouns:

bera admi	'great man'
bót munde	'many boys'
bót pani	'much water'
kuj munde	'some boys' ~ 'a few boys'

However, when the first of two adjectives, even though agreeing with the noun, they do not modify the noun. This can be seen by the fact that the following (the phrases above without /ceŋga/)

do not occur:

*bót mun̲d̲a -- /bót/ can be used with such nouns only when plural

*ber̲a mun̲d̲a -- the meaning 'great boy' is at least incongruous

*kuj mun̲d̲a -- /kuj/ can be used with such nouns only when plural

For examples see 6.11, sentences 16, 19.

2. Certain words used only as modifiers of adjectives:

bɪlkul gel̲t	'extremely wrong'

This item is not at all frequent, and is presumably becoming less frequent in Bharat, since it is of Persian origin introduced from Urdu. For an example, see 6.11, sentence 7.

3. Phrases with /tõ/ or /nalõ/ to express comparison. Though having other meanings in other contexts, both are best translated 'than' in this usage.

séb tõ ceŋga mun̲d̲a	'the best boy' (lit. 'than all')
sariã nalõ sóni kur̲i	'the most beautiful girl'

For examples see 6.11, sentences 8, 9, 24, 25.

The measure of the comparison may be expressed by a noun phrase in the oblique, see 6.11, sentence 25.

/édũ/ 'than this' and /ódũ/ 'than that' are short forms for /ɪs tõ/ and /us tõ/. Unlike the latter which may be used to mean more literally 'from him' /édũ/ and /ódũ/ are used only to express comparison. See 6.11, sentence 28.

4. Phrases with various postpositions, the specific postposition being more or less characteristic of the adjective.

pɪãr tõ khali	'without love' (lit. 'empty of love')
maɪa nal pèrpur	'filled with riches'
paṉi nal pèrɪa	'filled with water'

(The last example has a verb form, but the pattern is exactly the same.) For an example see 6.11, sentence 7

5. /waŋ/ 'like' preceded by a noun:

pàṟ waŋ ucca	'high as a mountain'
semŨnder waŋ pèrpur	'filled like the sea'

The noun before /waŋ/ is in the oblique case.

6. A few adjectives are regularly modified by nouns in the oblique case, or by pronouns in the oblique of the genitive. One of these is /werga/ 'having the appearance of'.

candi werga	'silver colored'
pàṟ werga	'mountain-like'
cor werga	'thievish'
mere werga	'like me'

For an example see 6.11, sentence 14.

7. The word /wala/ preceded by a noun in the oblique case or by a conditional infinitive forms adjective phrases.

šǽr wali gel	'the matter about the city'
khú wala bóṟ	'the banyan tree near the well'
piṉ wala paṉi	'drinking water'

For an example see 6.11, sentence 2.

Similar phrases are also used as nouns.

kele wecen̲ wala	'banana seller'
kʊlfi wala	'ice-cream man'

8. Adjectives may occasionally be modified by clauses. For an example see 6.11, sentence 16.

6.6 Modifiers of Numerals

Numerals and numeral phrases (higher numerals) described in 5.9-5.11 may have various modifiers:

1. Adjectives:

egle des mʊn̲d̲e	'the next ten boys'
peɪ́lɪã des kʊriã	'the first ten girls'
pure peñj tole	'exactly five tolas'
t̲hik car dɪn	'exactly five days'
koi car admi	'some four men'

Inflected adjectives in this use normally end in /-e/, but more rarely they agree with the noun that the numeral modifies:

peɪ́lɪã des kʊriã	'the first ten girls'

For an example, see 6.11, sentence 6.

2. Another way to express approximation is by juxtaposing two numerals:

do car admi	'two or three men'

This is vaguer in meaning than /koi car admi/.

3. The particle /kʊ/ 'about' may follow numerals:

peñj kʊ mɪn̲t̲	'about five minutes'

For an example, see 6.11, sentence 23.

6.7 Connectives

Two connectives occur in nominal phrases, /te/ 'and' and /jã/ 'or'. The former must be carefully distinguished from the postposition /te/ 'on', see 5.12, and from the emphatic particle /te/, see 9.6 .

/te/ and /jã/ may join whole noun phrases:

mera ceŋga munda te teri ceŋgi kuri
'my good boy and your good girl'

esĩ te tusĩ 'we and you'

Or they may join single nouns within noun phrases:

jite te bìro da munda 'the boy of Jita and Bhiro'

When two or more nouns joined by /te/ are preceded by modifiers, the modifiers apply to the first noun only. That is, the /te/ joins the noun phrases including modifiers if any, rather than the nouns:

ceŋga munda te kuri 'the good boy and the girl'

In this phrase /ceŋga/ 'good' modifies /munda/ 'boy', not /munda te kuri/ 'boy and girl', or put another way, /te/ joins /ceŋga munda/ and /kuri/. For examples of connectives in noun phrases see 6.11, sentences 6, 20, 27.

In certain positions, the question of number and gender agreement arises. This is true, for example, when nouns joined by /te/ are subject of a sentence. When two singular feminine nouns are so joined, the phrase is to be treated as feminine plural:

bìro te pali kèr geĩã 'Bhiro and Pali went home.'

The verb form /geiạ̃/ is feminine plural in agreement with the subject. When the two nouns are both masculine, or one is masculine singular and one feminine singular, the whole is treated as masculine plural:

jita te pali šǽr geẽ 'Jita and Pali went to the City'

/jita/ is masculine. /geẽ/ is masculine plural.

When the nouns connected by /te/ are of different genders and are plurals, the verb phrase usually agrees with the last noun:

car admi te do ɔrtạ̃ aiạ̃ 'Four men and two women came'

/aiạ̃/ 'came' is feminine plural. This rule is not always adhered to; sometimes the verb is masculine plural.

/te/ may join adjectival phrases, though not when they are in normal pre-noun modifier position. For an example see 6.11, sentence 18.

When three or more elements are joined by /te/ the connective may occur between each pair, or only between the last two, compare sentences 20 and 6 in 6.11. Phrases may also stand in the same relation without overt marking, see sentence 7.

When noun phrases are joined by /jạ̃/ 'or' the verb agrees with the nearest, see 6.11, sentence 27.

For further details on agreement of verb phrases, see Chapter 8.

6.8 Apposition

Nominal phrases, always two of the same type, can be in apposition. Apposition is not normally used within noun phrases.

meri pæ̀n jɪto	'my sister, Jɪto'
éthe ɪs šǽr wɪc	'here, in this city'

For examples, see 6.11, sentences 1, 4, 5.

Other paratactic constructions include that joining elements in dates, see 6.11, sentence 23.

6.9 Compounds

1. Various pairs of nouns, conventionally associated, form two-word compounds with a meaning similar to what would be expected if they were joined by /te/ 'and'.

ma pɪō	'father and mother'
zemīn esmān	'earth and heaven'

These compounds can occur in noun phrases just as single nouns, and are jointly modified by any preceding modifiers.

mere ma pɪō	'my parents'

For an example, see 6.11, sentence 4.

2. There are some similar sequences of adjectives which are conventionally associated and can perhaps best be thought of as compounds.

zera jɪnna	'small' ~ 'trifling'

/zera/ is occasionally used without /jɪnna/, but /jɪnna/ is seldom used without /zera/. Each by itself means 'small', see 6.11, sentence 11.

3. Another type of two-word compound, quite literary, consists of two mouns, the first of which seems semantically to modify the second:

candi kəmān	'silver bow'
pə̀r jəwān	'vigorous young person'

For examples, see 6.11, sentence 4.

4. Personal names are also best treated as compounds consisting of two or more words. Sikh names often contain /síŋ/ for men and /kɔr/ for women. A family name may be added after these:

jód síŋ	'Jodh Singh'
hərjīt síŋ gīl	'Harjeet Singh Gill'
gʊrcə̄rn kɔr	'Gurcharn Kaur'

Hindu names are generally similar in form. They may contain /síŋ/, but more often use /lal/ /pəršād/, /kʊmār/, and various other elements for men, and /kʊmāri/, /dewi/ etc. for women:

món̲ lal	'Mohan Lal'
ram pəršād	'Ram Parshad'
kəmla kʊmāri	'Kamla Kumari'
sita dewi	'Sita Dewi'

Colloquial names, generally used only in rural villages, are commonly single words with the following endings:

-a	for boys in ordinary usage
-u	for boys, affectionate among close acquaintances, rude when used by others.

jita	jitu	'Jita'

-o for girls in ordinary usage

-ã for girls to express affection

bìro	bírã	'Bhiro'

The latter form, being very colloquial, would seldom be written but presumably would be spelled ਭੀਰੋ ਭੀਰਾਂ , see 4.11.2. This sort of name may be nicknames shortened from longer names, or may be lengthened into names of the usual form when needed. /jita/ might become /herjīt síŋ/, and /bìro/ might become /regbìr ker/.

5. Echo words are another type of two-word compounds. A noun may be followed by a word identical except for the first consonant and sometimes the tone.

paṉi tàṉi	'water and things like that'
kem chem	'work and things like that'

6.10 Postpositions

For the classification and forms of postpositions, see 5.12.

The postpositions /ne/ and /nu/ mark NPs. In certain positions the postposition is optional. When the postposition is added,the head noun must become oblique, otherwise it is direct. The presence of one of these postpositions or its equivalent in pronoun suffixes, or the direct case of the head noun are the mark of the NP.

The postposition /da/ marks a type of AP. The preceding noun must be oblique. The genitive case of pronouns is equivalent to a noun phrase plus /da/. /da/ is inflected for number, gender, and case.

The remaining postpositions mark PPs. The preceding noun is always in the oblique. These postpositions may, optionally, be preceded by another postposition. With locative postpositions (see 5.12) this is /de/. With ablative postpositions it is either /de/ or /tọ̃/, with /tọ̃/ perhaps somewhat commoner. All of them may occur without these preceding postpositions. Shortened forms /te/ 'on' from /ʊtte/,/tọ̃/ 'from on' from /ʊttọ̃/, /cọ̃/ 'from within' from /wɪccọ̃/, etc. do not take the preceding postpositions. For example:

kʊrsi de ʊtte bæṯho. 'Sit on the chair.'
kʊrsi ʊtte bæṯho. "
kʊrsi te bæṯho. "

But the following is not possible:

*kʊrsi de te bæṯho.

For examples see 6.11. Sentences 19, for /de wɪc/, 23 for /tọ̃ pɪcchọ̃/, 1, 2, 23 for /wɪc/, 7, 10, 20, for /nal/, 8, 24 for /nalọ̃/, 10 for the short form /cọ̃/, 9 for /te/, and 7, 9, 25 for /tọ̃/.

6.11 Examples

The following examples, mostly taken from literature, illustrate various types of noun phrases, including some with fairly complex internal structure. Verb phrases and other sentence elements will not be analyzed at this place.

1. heṯhã resōi wɪc, éna di pelēṯhi di tì, eṯhārã salã di wɪdɪa,
   Adv N P Pr P N P N Num N C N
   PP PP NP
   ṯebber di roṯi tɪār ker rehi si. (ss-43)
   N C N
   NP VP

   'Below in the kitchen, their eldest daughter, eighteen year old Widya, was cooking dinner for the family.'

The two noun phrases /éna di pelēṯhi di tì/ 'their eldest daughter' and /eṯhārã salã di wɪdɪa/ 'eighteen year old Widya' are in apposition and form a complex NP, see 6.7. Each consists of a noun /tì/ 'daughter' and /wɪdɪa/ 'Widya' with preceding /da/ phrases, /éna di pelēṯhi di/ and /eṯhārã salã di/. The first, in turn, consists of a noun /pelēṯhi/ 'first born' and a preceding /da/ phrase /éna di/ 'of them', and the second of a noun /salã/ 'years' preceded by a numeral /eṯhārã/ 'eighteen'. /ṯebber di roṯi/ is another NP consisting of a /da/ phrase /ṯebber di/ 'of the family' and a noun /roṯi/ 'bread'. The two phrases /heṯhã/ 'below' and /resōi wɪc/ 'in the kitchen' are also in apposition, making a complex locative construction.

2. šápur de ɪlāke di pùri pà wali retli zemīn
N   P N   P A   N A   A   N
NP

sewēr de canen wɪc cemek reí si.   (n-5)
N   P N   P
PP   VP

'The brown-shaded sandy soil of the Shahpur area was shining in the morning light'

The NP in sentence 2 consists of a head noun /zemīn/ with three modifiers (see 6.4): /retli/ 'sandy', an adjective derived from /ret/ 'sand'; /pùri pà wali/ 'brown-shaded' consisting in turn of the adjective /wali/ preceded by a NP in the oblique case; and /šápur de ɪlāke di/, 'of the Shahpur area', containing in turn another /da/ phrase /šápur de/. The PP also contains a /da/ phrase preceding a noun.

3. us nu dadi benen̲ da cao si.   (ss-107)
Pr P N   V   P N
PP   NP   VP

'She was eager to become a grandmother.'
(lit.: 'To her was eagerness of becoming a grandmother.')

The NP consists of a noun and a /da/ phrase; the latter of a postposition following a verb phrase headed by a conditional infinitive /benen̲/ 'to become'.

4. jedõ rupã, raje rani di tì, pèr jewān ho geī.   (m-126)
Crd N   N   N   P N   N   N
PP   NP   NP   NP   VP

'When Rupan, the daughter of the king and queen, attained maturity.'

/rupã/ 'Rupan' and /raje rani di tì/ 'daughter of the king and queen' are in apposition forming one complex NP. /raje rani/ 'king and queen' is a two-word compound-like phrase functioning as a single noun in the /da/ phrase /raje rani di/. /pèr jewãn/ 'mature youth' is another two-word compound-like phrase, here constituting a whole NP. See 6.8.

```
5.  heri sɪ́ŋ di weddi nú, nend ker, kʊj ejǽi hi sʊpàgi nú si.
    N        P A      N  N          A    A     E A      N  (s-41)
    NP                   NP         NP                  VP
```

'The eldest daughter-in-law of Hari Singh, Nand Kaur, was such a fortunate daughter-in-law.'

The first NP contains two modifiers, /heri sɪ́ŋ di/ 'of Hari Singh' and /weddi/ 'eldest'. The first /heri sɪ́ŋ di weddi nú/ 'the eldest daughter-in-law of Hari Singh' and the second /nend ker/ 'Nand Kaur' are in apposition and form a complex NP. The last NP contains two modifiers /kʊj ejǽi/ 'somewhat like' and /sʊpàgi/ 'fortunate', see 6.4. /kʊj ejǽi/ is an AP consisting of a head adjective /ejǽi/ 'like' (a word carrying some implication of emphasis in itself) and /kʊj/ 'some'. To this adjective phrases has been added an emphatic particle /hi/, which further emphasizes it, see 9.3.

```
6.  pɪchle peñjá salã di ménet gem te kešt da ɪwz mɪl jawe.
    A      Num   N    P N     N   C  N    P  N        (ss-111)
    NP                                       VP
```

'May he get a reward for the last fifty years of hard work, worry, and hardship.'

The NP consists of a noun /ɪwz/ 'reward', and a /da/ phrase. The latter involves a sequence of three nouns, joined by /te/ 'and'. One of these, the first, /ménet/ is modified by a /da/ phrase. It is clear that the /da/ phrase modifies only this one noun, since /ménet/ is feminine, whereas /gem/ and /kešt/ are masculine; the phrase shows feminine singular concord in /di/. Perhaps by implication, the three nouns are all understood to be modified by similar phrases, but grammatically only /ménet/ is so modified. /da/ is constructed with three NPs: /pɪchle peñjá salã di ménet/, 'the hard work of the last fifty years' /gem/ 'worry' and /kešt/ 'hardship', see 6.6. The phrase /pɪchle peñjá salã di/ contains a noun /salã/ 'years' and a modifying phrase /pɪchle peñjá/ 'last fifty' in which an adjective, /pɪchle/ 'last', agreeing in gender and number with /salã/, modifies /peñjá/ 'fifty', see 6.3.4.

```
7.  duje de khɪãl nal pèrpur, mɪtthe muskande, gusse tõ bɪlkul
    N    P  N     P   A       A      V         N     P
    AP                        AP               AP

    khali hen.                                  (gs-10)
    A
          VP
```

'She is thoughtful of others, sweet-smiling, and entirely without anger.'

This sentence contains three phrases coordinate but without connective and forming a complex AP, see 6.6. The first /duje de khɪãl nal pèrpur/ 'full of thought of others', and the last /gusse tõ bɪlkul khali/ 'completely empty of anger' are both headed by adjectives with PP modifiers /duje de khɪãl nal/ and /gʊsse tõ/. The last one also has the rather unusual adjective modifier /bɪlkʊl/ 'completely'. The second AP, /mɪt̲t̲he mʊskande/ 'sweet-smiling' consists of a verb in the Present II form and an attributive adjective. The concord is masculine plural for respect; the other two head adjectives /pèrpur/ and /khali/ are red adjectives and do not show this. The sentence subject, presumably /ó/ 'she' is omitted as is usual in certain situations in continued narrative, see chapter 10.

```
8.  ceŋge leggen̲ da hʊner kame hon̲ nalõ wi meíŋga e.  (gb-170)
    A     V      P  N     N    V   P    E  A
    NP                    AP                      VP
```

'The art of being good is even more precious than being a skilled worker.'

The NP contains a noun /hʊner/ 'art' and a /da/ phrase containing a verbal phrase /ceŋge leggen̲/ 'being good'. The AP contains an adjective /meíŋga/ 'precious' modified by a PP consisting of a postposition /nalõ/ 'than' and a VP /kame hon̲/ 'being a skilled worker'. The emphatic particle /wi/ 'also, even' is added to the PP /kame hon̲ nalõ/ to emphasize it, see 9.4.

```
9.  te sariã tõ wéd ɪs gel te ó tʊl prɪã si.      (n-151)
    C  N     P  A   Pr N   P  Pr
    C  PP           PP        NP VP
```

'And more than anything else, he had made up his mind on this matter.'

The first PP /sariã tõ wéd/ 'more than anything' is an example of an adjective modified by a PP /sariã tõ/ 'from all things', and expressing comparison, see 6.5.4. The second PP shows a deictic pronoun /ɪs/ 'this' modifying a noun /gel/ 'matter' in the oblique case before a postposition /te/ 'on'. /ɪs/ is a literary form for the oblique case of /é/ 'this (sing)'.

```
10. é kot̲he te cér̲ jande hen, te apn̲iã nɪrbel ekkhã nal
    Pr
                                 PR    A      N     P
    NP PP      VP             C  NP

    kèsmæle bedlã diã cɪt̲t̲iã kenniã cõ candi keman di tàr
    A       N     P   A      N      P  N     N     P  N
    NP                                 NP

    t̲ùn̲d̲de hen.                                    (gs-12)

    VP
```

'She goes up on the roof and with her feeble eyes looks for the silver-lined bow in the white borders of dull clouds.'

/apn̲iã nɪrbel ekkhã nal/ 'with her feeble eyes' is an example of a NP containing both an adjective and a pronoun; the pronoun as usual precedes. /kèsmæle bedlã diã cɪt̲t̲iã kenniã cõ/ 'from in the white borders of the dull clouds/ is an NP showing a phrasal modifier /kèsmæle bedlã diã/ 'of the dull clouds' preceding a single-word modifier /cɪt̲t̲iã/ 'white'. /cõ/ is a shortened form of /wɪccõ/ 'from in'. /candi kemãn di tàr/ 'line of silver bow' includes a more or less formalized two-word compound noun /candi kemãn/ 'silver bow', see 5.8.

11. ɪk zera jɪnna kem si. (m-85)
Num A A N
NP VP

'I had a small business to take care of'

(lit.: 'A small business was.')

The NP /ɪk zera jɪnna kem/ 'a small business' includes two conventionally paired adjectives, forming a two-word compound, /zera jɪnna/ 'small', 'trifling', see 6.8.

12. é ber̲a ejĪb wakɪa pɪchle sal hoɪa. (m-65)
Pr A A N A N
NP PP VP

'This strange thing happened last year.'

The NP /é ber̲a ejĪb wakɪa/ 'this very strange thing' contains an adjective phrase consisting of two adjectives /ber̲a/ 'very' attributive to/ejĪb/ 'strange', see 6.5.1. The deictic pronoun /é/ 'this' precedes the adjective phrase. The PP /pɪchle sal/ is temporal in meaning 'last year'. It is in the oblique case, evident only in the adjective pɪchle/ 'last', since /sal/ 'year' is of paradigm II.

13. éna kuj salã wɪc us di cɪnta kèt̲ geĪ si. (ss-107)
Pr A N P Pr P N
PP NP VP

'In these few years, his worry was lessened.'

/éna kuj salã wɪc/ 'in these few years' shows the use of /éna/ 'these' in the plural oblique when modifying a noun, /salã/ 'years' before a postposition /wɪc/ 'in'. /us/ is a literary form for the singular oblique of /ó/ 'that', 'he'. See 5.5.

14. ma, babe di wi ma si, tere wergi. (m -103)
N N P E N Pr A
Voc AP NP VP AP

'Mother, Baba too had a mother like you.'

The AP /tere wergi/'like you' consists of an adjective /wergi/ 'having the qualities of' and a genitive pronoun /tere/ 'your'. The AP is in some loose construction with the NP /ma/ 'mother'.

15. wɪccõ ɪk desti lɪkhi cɪt̲ d̲ɪggi. (gs-165)
P Num VP N
PP NP VP

'From there a handwritten letter dropped.'

/wɪccõ/ 'from in' is an example of a postposition standing alone as a postpositional phrase, see 6.2. /ɪk desti lɪkhi cɪt̲/ 'a handwritten note' is an example of a numeral /ɪk/ 'one' preceding a VP modifier /desti lɪkhi/ 'hand written'.

16. é khuš hen, ber̲e khuš, jiker sunǽri kɪrna cummɪa kẽwel.
Pr A A A Adv A N V N (gs-9)
NP AP VP AP NP

'She is happy, very happy, as the golden-rays-kissed Kamal.'

/ber̲e khuš/ 'very happy' is an AP consisting of two adjectives, see 6.5.1. /jiker sunǽri kɪrna cummɪa kẽwel/ is a loosely attached modifier of /ber̲e khuš/.

17. é hæ mera merz, jɪs da mæ æs wele šɪkãr hã. (m-78)
Pr E Pr N Crd P Pr Adv N N
NP NP AP NP PP PP NP VP

'This is my disease, which has afflicted me now!
(lit.: 'This is my disease, of which I now am a target.')

/jɪs da mæ æs wele s̆ɪkãr hã/ is a clause modifying /merz/ 'disease'. /jɪs da/ 'of which' is an AP which must be construed as properly a modifier of /s̆ɪkãr/ 'target', but removed placed at a distance from the latter because phrases with /jɪs/ must be initial in the clause, see chapter 10. /æs/ 'now' and /wele/ 'at the time' are two PPs in apposition and forming one complex PP /æs wele/ 'now at this time'.

18. dine di ma sʊn hoi kher̲i si, ekkhã khʊlliã te leb bend.
N   P N   N   V   C   N   A (ss-88)
NP   VP   VP   AP

'Dina's mother was standing senseless, open eyes and closed lips.'

/ekkhã khʊlliã/ 'eyes opened' and /leb bend/ 'lips closed' are APs joined by /te/ 'and' to form one complex AP. It is not clear whether this should be treated as a modifier of /ma/ 'mother' in the NP, or as a loosely connected construction.

19. bekló de wɪc Ĭk chᵒn̲i hʊndi si, ber̲i wed̲d̲i.   (R)
N   P P   Num N   A   A
PP   NP   VP   AP

'There was a cantonement in Bakloh, a very big one.'

/bekló de wɪc/ 'in Bakloh' is an example of a PP with /de/ before the postposition. /ber̲i wed̲d̲i/ 'very large', is an AP modifying /chᵒn̲i/ 'cantonement', but removed to post-verb position for emphasis, see 9.1.

20. sóṉa, nerōɪa serīr, werzɪš te ménet te legen nal sámbɪa hoɪa.
A A N N C N C N P VP
NP AP

'A beautiful, healthy body, preserved by exercise, hardwork, and attention ...'

/sóṉa nerōɪa serīr/ 'a beautiful healthy body' contains a pair of associated adjectives /sóṉa/ 'beautiful' and /nerōɪa/ 'healthy' which are closely parallel and are probably best considered as forming a loose compound, see 6.3.10. The AP has a VP for head, /sámbɪa hoɪa/ 'preserved', and a PP modifier, /werzɪš te ménet te legen nal/ 'by exercise, hardwork, and attention'. The latter contains three nouns joined by /te/ 'and', /werzɪš/ 'exercise', /ménet/ 'hard work', and/legen/ 'attention'. These are jointly constructed with /nal/ 'with', 'by means of'. This AP is related to /serīr/ 'body'. An alternative construction would be of the form

werzɪš te ménet te legen nal sámbīa hoɪa serīr

in which the AP would be a modifier of /serīr/. In the sentence as it stands, the AP may still be considered as a modifier of /serīr/ displaced as mentioned in 6.4.5.

21. é nojwan, babe de weḏḏe perà da, jo keī sal da perlōk
Pr N N P A N P Crd A N P N
NP NP NP AP PP

gemen ker gɪã si, pota si. (ss-118)
N
VP VP

'This young man was a grandson of Baba's elder brother who had died several years ago.'

/é nojwan/ 'this young man' is an example of a deictic pronoun modifying a noun. Most of the rest of the sentence is one long and involved NP. Included is a relative clause /jo keī sal da perlõk gemen ker gɪã si/ 'who had died several years ago'. This modifies /perà/ 'brother', and follows it as closely as possible. /da/, however, cannot be separated from the noun with which it is constructed, so the clause follows the postposition rather than the noun it modifies. With the clause deleted, the NP would be:

babe de wedde perà da pota 'grandson of Baba's elder
N P A N P N brother'

Here is an example of a /da/ phrase and an adjective modifying the same noun, the phrase preceding. It is also an example of a /da/ phrase within a /da/ phrase.

22. é meriã asã da cen e. (gs-13)
Pr Pr N P N
NP NP VP

'It is the moon of my longings'.

/meriã asã/ 'my longings' is an example of a genitive pronoun modifying a noun in the feminine plural oblique.

23. newember ʊnni so etharã wɪc, jeŋg de zemãne tõ pɪcchõ,
N Num Num N̄um P N P N P P
PP PP

ɪk beri weddi bɪmãri peī. (s-93)
Num A A N
NP VP

'In November 1918, after the war was over, there was a big epidemic.'

In the first PP, /newember/ 'November', a noun, and /unni so e̲tharã/ '1918' a numeral phrase here used as a noun are in an apposition-like construction characteristic of dates, and together are constructed with the postposition /wɪc/ 'in'. /jeŋg de zemāne/ 'time of war' is followed by an ablative postposition /pɪcchõ/ 'after'. Between the two is an optional /tõ/ 'from', see 6.10. /bɪmāri/ 'sickness' has two modifiers, the numeral /ɪk/ 'one' and /ber̲i wed̲d̲i/ 'very large'. The latter consists of two adjectives, the first modifying the second, see 6.5.

24.

són̲e	ɪnsān	de	són̲e	hɪrde	nalõ	koi	són̲i	ciz	na	wekhi	na
A	N	P	A	N	P	A	A	N	Neg	V	Neg
NP									VP		

soci gei hæ. (g-117)

'A more beautiful thing than a keen mind of a graceful man is neither seen nor thought of.'

/ciz 'thing' has two modifiers, /koi/ 'some', and /són̲e ɪnsān de són̲e hɪrde nalõ ... són̲i/ 'more beautiful than the beautiful mind of a beautiful man'. /koi/ is a pronoun and so precedes adjective modifiers. The long PP modifier of /són̲i/, however, cannot easily be put between /koi/ and /són̲i/ and so is placed before the whole, making the adjective phrase discontinuous.

25. ɪs tō tɪn kʊ wə́re wəd̲d̲a e. (sl-47)
Pr P Num N A
AP VP

'He is older than he by about three years.'

Most of this sentence is one AP having a head adjective /wəd̲d̲a/ 'large', 'old', and two modifiers, /ɪs tō/ 'than he' and /tɪn kʊ wə́re/ 'by about three years'. The latter is an NP having an oblique head noun /wə́re/ 'years' and a numeral phrase modifier /tɪn kʊ/ 'about three'.

26. ɪs meri tì nu pəñj wə́re ho cəlle ne, apn̲e
Pr Pr N P Num N VP
NP PP VP NP

kə̀r gəɪ̃ nu. (sl-45)
P

'It is going to be five years since my daughter left for her home.'

A more literary order for this very colloquial sentence would be:

ɪs meri tì$\overset{nu}{\wedge}$apn̲e kə̀r gəɪ̃ nu pəñj wə́re ho cəlle ne.
NP PP VP

The two separated parts of the NP, are each marked with /nu/. The constriction of interest at this point is the sequence of two pronouns /ɪs/ 'this' and /meri/ 'my' both modifying /tì/ 'daughter, see 6.4.3.

27. kɪte koi tar jã læmp da khémba jã bɪrch peíle koet̲e
    Adv A   N   C N   P N   C N   A   N
    PP   NP   NP

    da sabet nekš dɪsda si.   (gs-118)
    P A   N
                  VP

'Here and there some wire or lamp-pole or tree gave an impression of a previous Quetta.' [From a description of an earthquake.]

Three noun phrases /koi tar/ 'some wire', /læmp da khémba/ 'pole of a lamp', and /bɪrch/ 'tree' are joined by /jã/ 'or' into a complex NP, which is the sentence subject. The verb agrees with /bɪrch/ (masculine), not with /tar/ (feminine). The occurrence of an adjective modifier /peíle/ 'first' with a proper noun /koet̲e/ 'Quetta' is unusual and rather specialized.

28. edũ mɪt̲t̲ha cen mæ kede cér̲da neí si wekhɪa. (g-109)
        A   N   Pr Adv V
    NP   AP   VP

'I had never seen a sweeter rising moon than this one.'

The NP consists of a noun /cen/ 'moon' and a modifier /edũ mɪt̲t̲ha/ 'sweeter than this'. The latter is equivalent to /ɪs tõ mɪt̲t̲ha/.

CHAPTER 7

VERBAL PHRASES

7.1 Scope and Classification

We treat in this chapter phrases constructed around verbs, auxiliaries, the negators /neí/ and /na/, and certain other elements, but always having either a verb or an auxiliary as a prominent and controlling member. Some of these verbal phrases function in or as nominal phrases, and certain aspects of their grammar are treated in Chapter 6. Their internal structure, however, is described here.

The simplest verb phrase consists of only an auxiliary. All auxiliaries can be so used, see 5.14.

é ceŋga e. 'He is good.'
NP AP VP

For further examples, see 6.11, sentences 3, 5, 7, 11, 14, 16, 17, 21, 22, 25 and many of the sentences to follow.

Most verb phrases are composed of two or more elements. For our purposes, we will describe them as typically composed of the following two major constituents: 1) A phrase base, consisting of a verb stem with or without various preceding elements -- other verb forms, adjectives, nouns, etc. A verbal phrase base may contain within it a catenative element and a smaller verbal phrase base, see 7.3. 2) A verbal phrase marker, consisting of a verbal desinence (a suffix or a complex of suffixes, as in the future) with or without an auxiliary or a negator. Except when a negator is included, the phrase marker follows the phrase base. In the following examples, the phrase base and the phrase marker are separated by a slash.

ó pi- / -nda a. 'He is drinking.'
VP

óne wá l- / -ɪā a. 'He plowed.'
VP

ó ján̲- /-ega. 'He will know.'
VP

Phrase bases are of several kinds:

1) Single verb stems, simple or causative, and including most of the verb stems that are described below as having special functions.

mæ ja- / -nda ã. 'I am going.'
VP

2) Certain constructions consisting of a noun or an adjective and a verb stem. The verb stems involved are from a limited list of specialized stems; the noun or adjective elements are much more diverse. The combinations often require lexical treatment as units, and are all more or less conventionalized. For details, see 7.2. These are called 'conjunct verbs'.

mæ ónu pɪār ker- / -da ã. 'I love her.'
VP

(/pɪār/ is a noun meaning 'love'. /ker-/ is a verb stem, in isolation typically meaning 'do'. The combination /pɪār ker-/ is not wholly predictable, and should be treated as a lexical unit.)

3. A verb stem or a conjunct verb base followed by a catenative. Catenatives consist of a verb stem from a restricted list and a preceding verb ending or specified lack of a verb ending. Catenatives in general combine freely with verb bases of the two types mentioned. The meaning can usually be easily predicted from the meaning of the included phrase base and that of the catenative. There are, however, some fairly stringent restrictions in a few instances as to the phrase markers that can follow certain catenatives. See 7.3.

mæ kem ker- / -n legg- / -a ã. 'I am going to begin to work.'

Many catenatives contain verb stems that can be used in other constructions usually with other meanings. For example, /legg-/ is not frequent as a main verb stem, but can be so used. In this case it means something like 'be'.

4. A verb stem -- not ordinarly any longer phrase base -- followed by a reinforcing unit. The latter consists of a verb stem from a restricted list and a preceding verb ending or specified lack of a verb ending. A very large number of verbs enter these constructions as first members, but the combinations are not predictable by general rule, and must be listed. The meanings of the combinations bear little if any relation to the meaning of the second element when the latter is used alone, but generally differ from that of the first element only by some kind of strengthening. Both the patterns and the meanings must be learned as units, and the combinations should be given

separate treatment in a complete lexicon. See 7.4.

óne kha lɪã́ e.	'He has eaten.'
óne kháda e.	'He has eaten.'

5. Certain compounds consisting of two verb stems, generally of very similar or nearly synonymous meanings, or one an echo of the other. These are very largely restricted in use to certain types of verbal phrases only. See 7.5.

Phrase markers are of three kinds, associated with three types of verbal phrases. The latter are as follows:

1) Serving as the main phrase of its clause. We will designate these 'main verbal phrases,' and abbreviate as mVP. The phrase markers are described in 7.6.

2) Serving as subsidiary sentence elements, but not in functions normally discharged by any type of nominal phrase. We will designate these as 'subordinate verbal phrases,' and abbreviate as sVP. The phrase markers are described in 7.7.

3) Serving as elements within nominal phrases, or as equivalent to one type of nominal phrase, the adjective phrase. We will designate these adjectival verb phrases, abbreviated aVP, or nominal verbal phrases, abbreviated nVP. The phrase markers are described in 7.8.

7.2 Conjunct Verbs

Conjunct verbs consist of a verb stem and a preceding noun or adjective. The verb stems are from a short list. Three are very common /ker-/ 'do,' /de-/ 'give,' and /læ-/ 'take.' The glosses, however, are of little significance, since the meanings of the combinations are not always predictable from the meanings of the parts. The first element in some conjunct verbs is not known in any other use except in the verb phrase. In other instances, the first element can also be used in typical noun or adjective positions. The following are examples:

tɪãr ker-	'cooking'	(see 6.11, s. 1)
cemek ræ̋-	'shining'	(see 6.11, s. 2)
gemen ker-	'go'	(see 6.11, s. 21)
yad ker-	'remember'	
wɪdɪa de-	'educate'	
tȍkha de-	'deceive'	
wá læ-	'plow'	

The following sentences include conjunct verbs of the sort where the meaning and form are not closely related.

29. bȉro ne dend keḏdiã tènto nu ekh mari. (k-47)
NP aVP NP VP

'Bhiro, laughing, winked at Dhanto.'

/dend keḏdiã/ 'showing her teeth' i.e., 'laughing,' is a conjunct verb consisting of /dend/ 'teeth' and /keḏ-/ 'take out' /ekh mari/ 'winked' a conjunct verb consisting of /ekh/ 'eye' and /mar-/ 'strike.'

30. saḏi kɪsmet wi kɪse dɪn pelṯa kháegi. (g-131)
NP E PP VP

'Maybe our fate will also change some day.'

/pelta khaegi/ is a conjunct verb consisting of /pelta/ 'a turning' and /kha-/ 'eat.' The combination means 'change.'

7.3 Catenatives

Catenatives are basically certain specialized verb stems which are most commonly used following other verbal phrase bases. Some of these verb stems are used following more than one form of the preceding verb, when this occurs, each construction has a different meaning or use. It is, therefore, best to consider the grammatical unit as consisting of the verb stem and the preceding verb ending, if any, and if there is none, as including the specification that there is none. We will indicate the latter situation -- i.e., that the bare stem form of the preceding verb is used, by the symbol -Ø.

1) /-Ø sek-/ 'be able'

mæ kem ker sekda ã. 'I can work.'

31. jo reb ɪtniã sediã tõ kerda aɪa hæ, admi kuj der
NP PP VP NP VP

pa ke hi tà sekenge. (ss-139)
E $\overline{\text{VP}}$

'What God has been doing for so so many centuries, it will take some time before man will be able to destroy.'

/tà/ is the bare stem of the causative of /tæ-/ 'to fall down.' /sek-/ is here with a future desinence as its phrase marker. Note also the first VP, an example of a complex phrase base /kerda a-/, see 7.4.

2. /-n̲/ legg-/ 'begin.'

mæ kəm kərn ləgga ã. 'I am going to begin to work.'

32. ete ó ʊddəm kərn leī wɪcārā̃ kərn ləgge. (gd-56)
C NP PP VP

'And they began to discuss how to get started.'

3. /-∅ rə́-/ 'to be in the process of,' a rather weak construction meaning little more than the English 'be ...-ing' construction. This is a very common phrase pattern.

mæ kəm kər rɪà ã. 'I'm working.'

33. rebbi cekker te cər̲i kʊdret sʊnderta wɪc t̲èl reí hæ.
NP PP V̄P (g-120)

'Nature, riding on the divine wheel, is moulding herself into eternal beauty.'

/t̲èl/ 'mould' is the bare stem before /rə́-/. /t̲èl reí hæ/ 'is moulding' /rebbi cekker te cər̲i/ 'riding on the divine wheel' is an aVP modifying /kʊdret/ 'nature'. For an additional example see 6.11, sentence 1.

4. /-n̲a cá-/ 'want.'

mæ kəm kərna cón̲a ã. 'I want to work.'

34. ó ʊd̲ ke apne pɪō de kèr beaspʊr, jo lódiabad de
NP sV̄P NP Crd PP

zíle wɪc si, pʊj jan̲a cóndi si. (s-14)
mVP mVP

'She wanted to fly over to her parents' home which was in Belaspur in the district of Lodhiabad.'

/puj/ 'reach' is a bare stem before a reinforcer /ja-/. /-n̲a cá/ in the optative is used to mean 'ought.' See sentences 65, 66 in 7.6.

5. /-Ø læ-/ 'finish'

mæ kem ker lɪã. 'I finished working.'

35.	us	ne	nur	bibi	nal̲	gel	nu	khólen̲	da	fæsla	ker	lɪã.
	NP		PP			NP					VP	

'He decided to talk the matter over with Nur Bibi.'

(Lit. 'He finished making the decision to open the matter with Nur Bibi.')

For an additional example see 7.6, sentence 71.

36.	sád̲e	des	weje	tik	us	sara	kem	t̲ɪcen	ker	lɪã.
	PP				NP	NP		VP		(n-120)

'By half past ten o'clock she had finished all her work.'

/t̲ɪcen ker/ is a conjunct verb meaning something like 'do it just right.' /t̲ɪcen/ does not ordinarily occur outside this combination.

6. /-Ø cuk-/ 'complete'

mæ kem ker cuka sã. 'I had finished working.'

37.	ɪse	prẽšn	nu	ó	hun̲	tik	kei	wari	dorà	cuka	si.
	NP			NP	PP		PP		VP		(nsa-79)

'Up til now he had repeated this question several times.'

38. ɪs gel da tapi nu hun ceŋgi térã wɪšwaš ho cuka si
AP NP PP NP NP VP
(k-55)

'Now the sick man was confirmed in his belief about this matter.'

The second sentence with /hoɪa si/ would indicate an appreciably less strong conviction.

7. /-∅ bǽ-/ 'finish,' 'happen to do.' Only the discourse context will determine which of the two meanings applies.

mæ kem ker bætha. 'I happened to work.'
'I finished working.'

39. ese ker ke ej ó roz nalõ sewekhte uth bæthi.
sVP PP NP PP VP
(ns-119)

'For this very reason she happened to wake up earlier than usual today.'

8. /-n de-/ 'allow'

mæ ónu kem kern dɪtta. 'I let him work.'

40. baba, ɪs kàni ce meɪ̄nu wern de. (k-41)
Voc PP NP VP
'Baba, let me get into this mud.'

The phrase base is /wer-/ 'enter.' /ce/ is a shortened form of /wɪc/ 'in.'

41. us ne eŋgrēzi wɪdɪa nu pɪnd na wern dɪtta. (ss-91)
NP NP PP VP

'He did not let British education enter the village.'

For an additional example see 7.6, sentence 74.

9. /-ɪa ker-/ 'frequently and repeatedly'

mæ óthe bæt̲hɪa kerda sã. 'I often used to sit there.'

42. apã odõ lʊdɪàne de khalsa sekʊ̄l wɪc pér̲ɪa kerde sã.
NP PP PP VP
(m-117)

'In those days I used to study at Khalsa School of Ludhiana.'

/apã/ 'I' is a very colloquial alternant of /mæ/.

10. /-da ho-/ with perfective auxiliary, 'used to.' Often with an implication that the activity is no longer being done.

mæ kem kerda hʊnda sã. 'I used to work.'

43. peɪ́lã ó kede kedaĩ hi nə̀ndi hʊndi si. (ns-119)
PP NP PP VP

'Before this, she used to take a bath very rarely.' With an imperfective auxiliary, the meaning is more often 'be continually involved in.' Very often the context makes clear that past time is intended.

mæ kem kerda hʊnna ã. 'I'm working steadily.' The constructions with /-da ho-/ are very much dependent for their meanings on the context, and there are considerable contextual restrictions on their use.

11. /-n̲a pæ-/ 'have to.' In the second person this is used as the strongest possible imperative. Note the use of /nu/.

meĩnu kem kerna pæn̲a. 'I will have to work.'

teĩnu jan̲a pæn̲a. 'You must go.'

The verb preceding /pæ-/ always has emphatic intonation. It is frequently accompanied by emphatic particles. /i/ precedes /pæ-/ if there is no auxiliary, but may follow if there is an auxiliary.

teĩnu jan̲a i pæn̲a. 'You really must go.'

ónu pér̲n̲a pænda i si. 'He really had to study.'

44. us leĩ eje tenu hor kuj cɪr ud̲ĩkn̲a péwega. (ns-202)
PP PP NP PP PP VP

'You will have to wait for that a little more.'

12. /-da pæ-/ and /-ɪa pæ-/, only used when /pæ-/ is past and followed by an auxiliary, merely emphasizes the fact. The preceding verb stem always has emphatic intonation. In many respects /pɪã/ is like an emphatic particle, and the meaning of the whole is very little different from that of a similar expression with /pɪã/ dropped out, except for the added emphasis. E.g., compare /kerda pɪã si/ with /kerda si/.

mæ kem kerda pɪã sã. 'Indeed, I was working.'

See /tul pɪã si/ 'indeed he determined,' in sentence 9, section 6.11.

13. /-n̲ d̲ǽ-/, only in forms comparable to /d̲ɪá si/ and /d̲ɪá a/, emphasizes the fact much as does /pɪā̲/, and in addition suggests that the act was actually witnessed. The construction is very colloquial, and can be considered as a somewhat stronger variant of number 12. The preceding verb always takes emphatic intonation.

mæ kem kern d̲ɪá sã. 'I sure was working.'

ó pér̲n̲ d̲ɪá si. 'He was studying -- I saw him.'

14. /-da rǽ-/ 'continue,' much stronger than number 3, /-ø rǽ-/.

mæ kem kerda rɪá. 'I went right on working.'

45. d̲akt̲er peñj ku mɪn̲t̲ perde pɪcche settɪa nu dekhdi reíndi hæ.
NP PP PP NP VP (sl-47)

'The lady doctor was looking for Sattia behind the curtain for about five minutes.'

46. khɪr̲ki wɪc khelōti ó kɪtna cɪr kembdi reí. (d-34)
aVP NP PP mVP

'She stood shivering in the window for a long time.'

/khɪr̲ki wɪc khelōti/ 'standing in the window.' /kemb reí si/ 'was shivering' would not be possible in this context with /kɪtna cɪr/ 'so late,' i.e., 'for a long time,' but /kembdi reí/ with much the same translation but with an implication of duration is appropriate.

15. /-ø ja-/ and /-ɪa ja-/ 'passive,' but only when the /ja-/ is in the past form /gɪã/ etc.

é kem'óde kolõ ho gɪã. 'This work was done by him.'

47. kɪse dɪn pher̲ɪa gɪã. (m-38)
PP VP

'One day he was caught.'

For additional examples see 6.11. In sentence 13 /kèt̲ geɪ̄ si/ 'was lessened.' In sentence 24 /na wekhi na soci geɪ̄ hæ/ 'is neither seen nor thought of,'.

There are many more of these catenative combinations. The following table gives the forms.

	Preceding Ending						
	Ø	-n̲	-n̲a	-n̲o	-da	-dɪã	-ɪa
sek-	x						
legg-		x					
ho-					x	x	x
pæ-	x		x		x		x
rǽ-	x			x	x		
bǽ-	x	x		x			
keṛ-							x
læ-	x		x				
de-	x						
ched̲d̲-	x						
ja-	x	x		x	x	x	x
pa-	x					x	
rekh-	x		x	x		x	
kèt-	x						
cá-		x					
cʊk-	x						
d̲ǽ-		x					

7.4 Reinforcers

A limited list of verbs, essentially the same as those found in conjunct verbs, can follow other verb stems forming complex verb phrase bases. The following are the commonest verb stems used as reinforcers. They are given with glosses indicating their meaning when used in other constructions. As reinforcers their function is essentially to strengthen the meaning of the preceding verb stem, and these reinforcing verbs contribute very little specific meaning to the whole.

de-	'give'	sʊt-	'throw'
chedd-	'leave'	rekkh-	'keep'
ja-	'go'	cel-	'go'
pa-	'put'	kèt-	'force'

Before these reinforcing verbs the bare stem is most commonly used. However, in certain combinations the simple infinitive or the conditional infinitive may be found.

The following are examples of verb phrases containing reinforcers:

cér ja- 'climb up' (see 6.11, s. 10)
from cér- 'climb'

The combinations of verb stems and reinforcers which occur are not easily predictable, and must be treated as complex lexical units. The following table, showing the combinations occurring between 100 common verbs and 7 of the commonest reinforcers will give some idea of the situation. This table was carefully checked against ten informants, all native speakers of Majhi. They showed remarkably close agreement, but no simple pattern is discernible.

		de-	che̲d̲d̲-	ja-	pa-	su̲t̲t̲-	rekkh-	kèt-
un̲	'knit'	x	x			x	x	
uk	'miss'			x				
ud̲	'fly'			x	x			
ud̲īk	'wait'		x	x				
ug	'sprout'		x	x	x			
ut̲h	'stand'		x	x	x			
akh	'say'	x	x	x			x	
pur	'fill'	x	x	x		x	x	x
púñj	'wipe'	x	x	x		x	x	x
po	'lie'							
pèn	'break'	x	x	x		x	x	x
pi	'drink'	x	x	x		x	x	x
pùn	'roast'	x	x	x		x	x	x
pùl	'forget'		x	x				
pí	'grind'	x	x	x		x	x	x
tor̲	'break'	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
ter	'swim'		x	x	x			
tar̲	'snub'	x	x	x			x	
tù	'pull'	x	x	x		x	x	x
ta	'heat'	x	x	x			x	

		de-	chedd-	ja-	pa-	sutt-	rekkh-	kèt-
tèk	'push'	x	x	x	x	x	x	
tel	'fry'	x	x	x			x	
tan	'spread'	x	x	x			x	
tol	'weigh'	x	x	x		x	x	x
ku	'speak'				x			
kuter	'cut'	x	x	x		x	x	x
kes	'tighten'	x	x	x			x	
kùr	'rebuke'		x					
kèl	'send'	x	x	x		x		
kǽ	'say'	x	x	x		x		
kej	'cover'	x	x	x			x	
ker	'do'	x	x	x		x	x	x
kár	'boil'	x	x	x			x	
ker	'pour'	x	x	x				
kut	'beat'	x	x	x		x		x
kèr	'chisel'	x	x	x		x	x	
kòl	'mix'	x	x	x		x	x	
kuc	'brush'	x	x	x		x	x	
bol	'speak'	x	x	x	x			
bij	'sow'	x	x	x		x	x	x
bec	'careful'			x	x			
ben	'be'		x	x	x			
bǽ	'sit'		x	x				
boc	'catch'			x				

		de-	ched̲d̲-	ja-	pa-	sut̲t̲-	rekkh-	kèt-
bal̲	'burn'	x	x	x		x	x	x
dé	'give'		x	x			x	
del̲	'grind'	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
des	'tell'	x	x	x				
d̲ol̲	'waver'			x	x			
d̲ob	'drown'	x	x	x		x	x	x
d̲ɪg	'fall'				x			
d̲es	'sting'			x				
d̲er	'fear'			x	x			
d̲ek	'stop'	x	x	x			x	
d̲at̲	'snub'	x	x	x			x	
jokh	'weigh'	x	x	x		x		
jo	'hitch'	x	x	x			x	
jep	'recite'		x	x			x	
jor̲	'join'	x	x	x		x	x	x
jac	'examine'	x	x	x			x	
jag	'wake'				x			
jeg	'lighten'			x	x			
já	'go'		x		x			
jan	'know'		x					
jer	'bear'	x	x	x				
jir	'absorb'			x				
jɪt	'win'	x	x	x		x	x	
gõ	'sing'	x	x	x				

		de-	chedd-	ja-	pa-	sutt-	rekkh-	kèt-
t̲ep	'jump'	x	x	x	x			
t̲à	'demolish'	x	x	x		x		x
t̲àl̲	'melt'	x	x	x		x	x	x
t̲ò	'carry'	x	x	x		x		x
t̲uk	'cut'	x	x	x		x		x
t̲al̲	'evade'	x	x	x		x	x	
t̲ɤk	'rest'		x	x	x			
cup	'suck'	x	x	x		x	x	x
cùr	'grieve'		x	x	x			
càr̲	'sweep'	x	x	x		x	x	x
càk	'peep'	x	x	x				
cès	'rub'	x	x	x				
cen̲d̲	'sharpen'	x	x	x		x	x	x
cer	'graze'		x	x		x		x
co	'milk'	x	x	x	x			x
cik	'cry'		x	x	x			
cób	'pierce'	x	x	x		x	x	x
cug	'peck'	x	x	x				x
cèl	'suffer'	x	x	x				
cùl	'swing'		x	x	x			
cèk	'hesitate'			x				
pher	'move'	x	x	x		x		x
phuk	'burn'	x	x	x		x	x	x
thuk	'spit'	x	x	x		x		

		de-	che̲d̲d̲-	ja-	pa-	sut̲t̲-	rekkh-	kə̀t-
thɪr̲k	'slip'			x	x			
t̲hok	'fix'	x	x	x		x	x	x
t̲hek	'print'	x	x	x		x	x	x
chɪl	'peal'	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
cher̲	'tease'	x	x	x				
khá	'eat'	x	x	x				
ṣɔ̃	'sleep'	x	x	x				
sʊn̲	'hear'	x	x	x	x		x	
Total Occurrences		68	85	92	26	42	47	33

$V_1 = 100$

The following examples perhaps indicate as well as possible with isolated sentences some of the implications of reinforcement:

48. bìro di tersyog halet ne lábo da endər pɪglà sut̲t̲ɪa. (k-97)
NP NP VP

'Bhiro's miserable condition melted Labho's heart.'

This is clearly intended to be a strong statement. As such /pɪglà sut̲t̲ɪa/ 'melted' is much more appropriate than /pɪglàɪa/ 'melted,' though the actual difference of meaning is minute. /pɪglàɪa/ might perhaps be more appropriate were this a simple non-metaphorical statement of fact.

49. tʊàd̲i jɪwẽ selá hoi, sʊnéa pèj dɪõ. (k-41)
NP VP NP VP

'Whatever you decide, send the message accordingly.'

The simple imperative /pèjo/ 'send' would be much less forceful.

50. bɪlkul t̲hik ho jáegi, teri tì, mata. (sl-47)
AP VP NP Voc

'Mother, your daughter is going to be quite alright.'

/hóegi/ 'will become' would be grammatically quite acceptable, but /ho jáegi/ with essentially the same meaning contributes to the desired affect of reassurance.

Rarely, /ho-/ may be a first member of a verb sequence in which the meaning is a strengthening of that of the second verb. This usage is dialectal and very restricted /ho ut̲h-/ 'stand' from /ut̲h-/ 'stand'. See sentence 78, in 7.7.

7.5 Verbal Compounds

Certain compounds of two verb stems occur as phrase bases. These, however, are very restricted in their use, occurring only in subordinate verbal phrases with /ke/ marker.
These are of three types:

1) A verb stem iterated:

51. mæ akh akh ke khep geɪ ã, bebe. (ic-20)
NP sVP mVP Voc

'Mother, I am tired of asking him.'

/akh akh ke/ 'of asking' contained an iterated verb, /akh/ 'say,' 'ask.'

52. ʊs ne dusre esɪ̄l kʊkker̲ nu mar mar ke pejà dɪtta. (ss-90)
NP NP sVP mVP

'He beat the other chicken badly.'

/mar mar ke/ 'having beaten' /pejà dɪtta/ 'made run' causative of /pèjj-/ with reinforcer /de-/. The context is a description of a fight between two chickens. One has attacked the other so savagely as to cause him to run.

2) A pair of synonymous verbs or verbs of very similar meaning:

53. bɪmla ɪs doren wɪc lʊk chɪp ke des de ɪk kone tõ duje
NP PP sVP PP PP

kone wɪc phɪrdi reí. (ss-193)
mVP

'Bimla, during this period moved about secretly
from one end of the country to the other.'

/lʊk chɪp ke/ 'secretly' contains a two word compound of the verb stems /lʊk/ 'hide' and chɪp/ 'hide.'

3) A verb stem followed by an echo form based on the verb stem. Usually the echo form involves a change of vowel. The following are examples, in every instance the meaning of the compound is essentially the same as that of the basic stem, and so only one gloss is given.

mor̲	'turn'	mor̲ mar̲ ke
tor̲	'break'	tor̲ tar̲ ke
mar	'kill'	mar mur ke
nep	'press'	nep nʊp ke

pèn	'break'	pèn pùn ke
wín	'pierce'	wín wún ke
pùn	'roast'	pùn pèn ke
suṉ	'hear'	suṉ seṉ ke
nes	'run'	nes nus ke
	compare:	nes pèj ke

/nes pèj/ is an example of the compound built of two near synonyms; the two stems /ness-/ and /pèjj-/ can both be glossed 'run.'

4) Nominal compounds of pairs of verb stems with opposed meanings are sometimes used in conjunct verbal bases.

54. kem kar óda bóta dɪlli reínda, awa jai leggi reíndi si.
mVP mVP (m2-32)

'Though his work was mostly in Delhi, he was all the time coming and going.'

/awa jai/ is a nominal expression including the two verbal stems /a-/ 'come' and /ja-/ 'go.' With /legg-/ it forms a conjunct verb 'be coming and going.'

7.6 Main Verbal Phrases

The following table shows the combinations of elements which occur as phrase markers in positive main verbal phrases. Representative endings only have been shown. In every instance others are possible, see 5.16.

	without auxiliary	with imperfective auxiliary	with perfective auxiliary
Present I	-na	-na ã	
Present II	-nda	-nda ã	-nda sã
Past	-ɪa	-ɪa ã	-ɪa sã
Future	-uŋga		
Hortative	-wã		
Optative	-ida	-ida a	-ida si
Imperative	-o		
Infinitive	-n̲a	-n̲a ã	-n̲a si

The Future, Hortative, and Imperative do not occur with auxiliaries. The Present I does not occur with perfective auxiliaries, and it does not occur with third person subjects.

Phrases with the imperfective auxiliary are more formal than those without an auxiliary, when both occur. They also tend to be a bit more definite in their time reference. However, the general meaning is usually much the same.

Phrases with the Perfective Auxiliary have the same relation to some past point in time as those with the Imperfective Auxiliary have to the present.

Phrases with Present I tend to express a more immediate time than do those with Present II. With first and second person subjects, Present I occurs more frequently than does Present II.

The infinitive is inflected for number and gender in these uses, see sentences 65, 66.

Negative main verbal phrases are in general parallel, except that /neí/ is added to the perfective auxiliary, or substituted for the imperfective. There is therefore no contrast between forms without auxiliary and those with imperfective auxiliary, giving fewer phrase patterns. Moreover, the /neí/ or /nəí si/ precedes the verb stem bearing the desinence. The phrase markers are therefore discontinuous. The following table gives the possible combinations:

	without auxiliary	with perfective auxiliary
Present II	neí ...-nda	neí si ...-nda
Past	neí ...-ɪa	nəí si ...-ɪa
Future	neí ...-uŋga	
Hortative	na ...-wã	
Optative	neí ...-ida	neí si ...-ida
Imperative	na ...-o	
Infinitive	neí ...-n̲a	neí si ...-n̲a

Note that the hortative and imperative use a different form of the negator, /na/.

The Present I is not used in negative constructions.

The following table gives brief paradigmatic examples of the various phrase markers. It also gives references to sentences illustrating them further. Numbers 55-75 are subjoined.

1-28 are in 6.11. 29 -54 are earlier in this chapter. 76-88 are later in this chapter. Those beyond 89 are in later chapters.

		See Sentences:
Present I:		
mæ jana.	'I am going.'	55
mæ jana ã.	'I am going.'	56, 57
Present II:		
mæ janda.	'I am going.'	54,110,124
mæ janda ã.	'I am going.'	10, 45, 91
mæ janda sã.	'I was going.'	19, 27, 54
mæ nəí janda.	'I am not going.'	58, 80, 82
mæ nəí sã janda.	'I was not going.	59
Past:		
mæ gɪã.	'I went.'	12, 15, 23
mæ gɪã ã.	'I have gone.'	26, 33, 51
mæ gɪã sã.	'I had gone.'	1, 18, 37
mæ nəí gɪã.	'I haven't gone.'	60, 200
mæ nəí sã gɪã.	'I hadn't gone.'	28, 61, 83
Future:		
mæ jáuŋga.	'I will go.'	30, 31, 44
mæ nəí jáuŋga.	'I will not go.'	62
Hortative:		
mæ jawã.	'May I go.'	63,118,123
mæ na jawã.	'May I not go.'	64,94,144

Optative:

ẹ̃we jaida.	'This is how one should go.'	165
ẹ̃we jaida a.	'This is how one should go.'	65,66, 113
ẹ̃we jaida si.	'This is how we used to go.'	67
ẹ̃we neí jaida.	'This is how one should not go.'	68,81
ẹ̃we neí si jaida.	'This is not how we used to go.'	69,134

Imperative:

óthe já.	'Go there!'	40,49 86
óthe na já.	'Don't go there!'	70,102

Infinitive:

mæ jan̲a.	'I am about to go.'	71,97 101
mæ jan̲a ạ̃.	'I have to go.'	87,141, 148
mæ jan̲a si.	'I had to go.'	72,114
mæ neí jan̲a.	'I don't have to go.'	73,74, 103
mæ neí si jan̲a.	'I didn't have to go.'	75

Note that the perfective auxiliary following the infinitive is always /si/. It does not agree with the subject as it would in any other construction.

55. es khɪr̲ki tõ mæ bende ɵnde jande wekhna. (R)
PP NP NP aVP mVP

'I am watching people -- coming and going -- from this window.'

56. bét eccha ji, a jane ã. (sl-65)
VP

'Alright, sir, we will come.'

/a ja-/ 'come' verb with reinforcer. Subject pronoun omitted.

57. tũ tã surme da nas mar deni ẽ. (s-72)
NP E AP VP

'You spoil the surma.'

Surma is cosmetic for the eyes.

58. bende tõ duje bende da ɵkh sɵkh pucche bɪgær rɪá neí janda.
PP NP PP VP (M2-30)

'One man cannot help asking about another man's troubles.'

Here /neí/ stands between the main verb and the reinforcer. /neí rɪá janda/ is a somewhat more usual order.

59. weddiã kuriã nu hetti te neí si kèllɪa janda. (m2-25)
NP PP VP

'The older girls were not sent to the shop.'

60. mejjã cariã kɪse diã hali tek tã æwẽ neí geɪã. (sl-61)
NP AP PP E PP VP

'Grazing buffaloes of others has never yet gone useless.'

61. koi tuna, koi mennet, koi ɪlãj karger neí si hoɪa. (d-67)
NP NP NP VP

'Nothing worked, no amulet, no vow, no medicine.'

62. kɪse wi egge wéden wali recna nu pesend neí kérnge. (sl-70)
NP VP

'They will never like any progressive writings.'

/pesend ker-/ 'like,' 'enjoy,' is a conjunct verb, containing an adjective /pesend/.

63. celo, ej cekki de pul heth cel beíe. (ns-103)
PP PP VP

'Come, let's go sit under the big wheel!'

/beíe/ is hortative first plural of /bǽ-/ 'sit.'

64. koi dɪn khali na rǽ jawe. (sl-61)
NP AP VP

'No day may pass without anything significant happening.'

(Lit. 'No day may remain empty.')

65. admi nu kuj súd rekhni cáidi e, ase pase di. (sl-70)
NP NP VP AP

'A man ought to be careful about his environment.'

66. hun esãnu é lal kɪtāb bedel deni cáidi e. (sl-69)
PP NP NP VP

'Now we ought to change this red book.'

67. brámen mã di tì hon de nate, šila nu wǽmã pèrmã de
PP NP NP

sembénd wɪc cokha bód hona cáida si. (s-72)
VP

'Shila, being the daughter of a Brahman mother should have had sufficient knowledge of superstitions.'

68. meīnu dɪsda, ner̲e da, des ɪnderiã wala te peñj pùtek
NP NP

jiwen neɪ́ cáida. (m-32)
VP

'I do not want the visible, immanent life of the ten senses and five elements.'

69. chot̲e hundɪã kedi holi neɪ́ si bolida. (R)
sVP PP mVP

'We never spoke slowly when we were young.'

70. mæ ju tenu akhɪa si, peì kèr ched̲ ke na jaī. (1c-52)
NP E NP mVP Voc sVP mVP

'Didn't I tell you that you should not leave the house?'

71. phɪr mæ kha lə́waŋgi te tusī gellã kerna. (sl-66)
PP NP VP C NP VP

'Then I'll finish eating and you can talk.'

72. us ne bɪje sɪ́ŋ kolõ do so rupæ wi læn̲e sen. (s-84)
NP PP NP E VP

'Moreover, he had to get two hundred rupees from Bije Singh.'

73. ɪs da dɪmãg t̲hik neɪ́ hon̲a. (sl-52)
NP AP VP

'He must be all confused.'

(Lt. 'His brain must not be straight.')

74. ó tusã den dena i neí. (sl-60)
NP NP VP

'You won't let me give that.'

/neí/ follows the main verb because the emphatic particle /i/ must follow the main verb and cannot stand last in the sentence, see 9.3.

75. ʊs de pɪõ ne éna haltã wɪc ʊs nu ʊs di kerni de mende
NP PP NP PP

netījɪã tõ neí si becã sekna. (s-84)
VP

'Under these conditions, his father could not save him from the results of his misdeeds.'

7.7 Subordinate Verbal Phrases

Subordinate verbal phrases typically precede main verbal phrases and can be distinguished by using a different set of markers. There are three common ones:

1) The Present perfect /-dɪã/ (see 5.18)

76. besre reíndɪã meĪnu khebrã sʊnen da cès pæ gɪã si. (m-43)
sVP NP NP VP

'While staying at Basra, I acquired a taste for listening to the news.'

77. hʊn puls ne ɔndɪã hi esã tɪnna nokrã nu regerna šʊru
PP sVP E NP nVP mVP

ker dɪtta. (m-41)

'Now as soon as the police arrived, they started to manhandle us three servants.'

For an additional example see 7.2, sentence 29.

The present perfect may be iterated for emphasis:

óne ɵndɪã ɵndɪã kɪá. 'He told us on the way.'
(Lit. 'as we were going')

2) The Past Perfect /-ɪã/ (see 5.19)

78. bɪna bolɪã máduri ʊs de meger ho tʊri. (nsa-107)
VP NP PP VP

'Without saying anything Madhuri followed her.'

/bolɪã/ 'speaking' is preceded by /bɪna/ 'without.' /boleṉ de bɪna/ 'without speaking' would be a more usual construction, but /bɪna/ commonly occurs in this exceptional position. /ho tʊri/ is a complex verb form, see 7.4.

3) The Bare Stem plus /ke/.

79. éddi rat nu heri šerme ne ae jʊ̃ãi da kòra khól ke bɵ́t
NP NP sVP sVP
dʊrẽḏe lɪjã ke chupã dɪtta. (m2-80)
mVP

'At midnight Hari Sharma unfastened the horse of the bridegroom, who had come, and taking it far away, hid it.'

The two subordinate verbal phrases both have complex internal structure:

ae jʊ̃ãi da kòra khól ke bɵ́t dʊreḏe lijã
NP V PP V

For additional examples see section 7.3, sentences 31, 34 and 39.

4) The Imperfective Infinitive /-n̲o/, see 5.24.

80. wares diã apniã kimtã wares thã thã pregt̲ān̲o neí cèkda.
NP NP PP sVP mVP (m2-14)

'Waras does not hesitate to present his own standards again and again.'

The imperfective infinitive is comparable to an ablative or a construction with /tõ/ 'from' in most of its uses. It is used to express comparison:

tʊr pæn̲o hor ki ceŋga a.	'What is better than leaving this place!'

It is commonly used with negative main verbal phrases:

ó jan̲o na rǽ sekɪa.	'He couldn't help going.'

It is also commonly used with main verbs that have some negative implication:

ó ɔn̲o d̲erda si.	'He was afraid to come.'

Occasionally a conditional infinitive and /tõ/ is used instead. Thus the following would be possible, but less usual:

tʊr pæn̲ tõ hor ki ceŋga a.	'What is better than leaving this place?'

81. nɔjwanã nu phɔj wɪc pèrti hon̲ tõ d̲erna neí cáida. (s-92)
NP PP VP

'Young men should not be afraid of getting enlisted in the army.'

82. tʊànu te gúr̲e perītgami wi selón tõ bɪna neí rǽ sekda.
NP E NP E PP VP (s1-71)

'Even the most reactionary people cannot help praising you.'

See also 6.11, sentence 8, /kame hon̲ nalõ/ 'than being a workman?'

7.8 Adjectival and Nominal Verbal Phrases

Two verb forms are common in adjectival positions within nominal phrases and as heads of adjectival phrases:

1) The Present II /-da/, see 5.18.

83. dəs rupæ nu wɪkdi kən̲k wi ʊs ləɪ̄ koi nəfa nəí si lɪã səki.
NP E PP NP VP
(s-95)

'Even the wheat sold for ten rupees could not bring any profit for him.'

The first NP contains an aVP /dəs rupæ nu wɪkdi/ 'selling for ten rupees' modifying /kən̲k/ 'wheat.' The VP in turn contains a present II verb /wɪkdi/ 'selling,' and a complement of that verb, the NP /dəs rupæ nu/ 'for ten rupees.'

For additional examples see 6.11. In sentence 7, /mɪt̲t̲he mʊskande/ 'sweet-smiling' contains a present II /mʊskande/ 'smiling' and its complement /mɪt̲t̲he/ 'sweet.' The whole is an independent adjectival phrase. In this sentence /kəde cér̲da/ 'sometimes rising,' is an AP.

Present II forms can also be used in positions normally occupied by nouns, as can many adjectives. See sentence 68 in 7.6 where /dɪsda/ 'appearing' /ner̲e da/ 'of the vicinity,' /das ɪnderiã wala/ ' ten senses' and /pəñj pʊtək jiwan/ 'life of the five elements' are all coordinated by /te/ 'and' and form a complex NP.

2) The Past /-ɪa/, see 5.19.

84. na kɪte koi chɪllər̲ si, na kagaz da d̲ɪgga t̲ʊkr̲a nəzar
    Neg PP NP VP Neg NP VP

ənda si. (gs-33)

'Neither was there any rubbish , nor did any fallen piece of paper meet your eyes.'

The NP /kagaz da d̲ɪgga t̲ʊkr̲a/ 'fallen piece of paper' contains two modifiers, /kagaz da/ 'of paper' and /d̲ɪgga/ 'fallen.' The latter is a perfect of a verb.

For additional examples, see 6.11, sentences 16 and 18, and 7.3, sentences 33 and 46. In 16 /sʊnǽri kɪrna cʊmmɪa/ 'golden-rays-kissed' is a modifier of a noun. In 18 /əkkhā̃ khʊlliā̃/ 'with eyes opened' is an AP. In 33 rəbbi cəkkər te cér̲i/ 'having climbed onto the divine wheel' shows a perfect verb with a complement. In 46 /khɪr̲ki wɪc khəlō̃ti/ 'standing in the window' is an adjectival sentence element consisting of a perfect verb /khəlō̃ti/ 'stood' and a complement /khɪr̲ki wɪc/ 'in the window.'

There are also two kinds of verbal phrases which stand in nominal phrases in noun positions or function as nominal phrases. These are:

3) Simple Infinitive /-n̲a/, see 5.24.

85. kuj cɪr leɪ̄ ó cup ker geɪ̄, jɪwẽ ó búd̲d̲i ɪs gel nu hor
PP NP mVP Crd NP nVP

wedère lemkã̄n̲a t̲hik neɪ́ sémjdi si. (ss-10)
AP mVP

'For some time she kept silent, as if that old woman did not think it proper to prolong this matter any more.'

The nVP /ɪs gel nu hor wedère lemkã̄n̲a/ 'to prolong the matter any longer' functions in the sentence as a NP. It consists of an infinitive /lemkã̄n̲a/ 'to prolong' and two dependent sentence elements, /ɪs gel nu/ 'this matter' and /hor wedère/ 'any longer.' The simple infinitive occurs in positions otherwise occupied by nouns in the direct case.

4) Conditional Infinitive /-n̲/, see 5.24.

86. celo, peɪ́lã i ker dɪáŋge, tusɪ̄ on̲ wale ben̲o. (sl-65)
NP AP VP

'O.K., we'll do it first for you. You come along.' (Lit. 'You be comers.')

/on̲/ 'come' is an infinitive before /wale/ 'one who.'

For additional examples, see 6.11, sentences 3 and 8, 7.3, sentence 32, and 7.6, sentence 62. In 3, /dadi benen̲ da cao/ 'desire to become a grandmother' contains an infinitive /benen̲/ 'become' and its complement /dadi/ 'grandmother.' In 8, /ceŋge leggen̲ da huner/ 'the art of being good' contains an infinitive /leggen̲/ 'be' and its complement /ceŋge/ 'good.' /kame hon̲ nalõ meɪ́ŋga/ 'more precious than being a skilled worker' contains an infinitive /hon/ 'be' and its complement /kame/ 'worker.' In 32 /ʊddəm kərn ləī/ 'for getting started' contains an infinitive of a conjunct verb. In 62 /əgge wə́dən wali/ 'forward going' parallels the construction in 83 but modifies the noun /rəcna/ 'works.' All these examples show conditional infinitives before postpositions, the most frequent position. In any case, they occur only in those places where nouns would be in the oblique case.

7.9 Longer Phrases

Verbal phrases are usually only three words in length. The following three word patterns are common:

main verb -- catenative -- auxiliary

ja səkda e	'can go'

main verb - reinforcer -- auxiliary

cəla gɪā e	'has gone'

noun or adjective -- verb -- auxiliary

kəm kərda e	'is working'

The one common four element pattern is:

noun or adjective -- main verb -- catenative -- auxiliary

kəm kər səkda e	'can work'

Occasionally two catenatives are used.

```
87. meĪnu te sad̲e sare kèr nu jet̲ šerĪke ne par̲ khan̲iã nezrã
    NP    C  NP               NP            PP

    nal wekhen̲ leg pæn̲a hæ.                          (k-97)
        VP
```

'The village community will certainly be looking at me and our family with a fierce visage.'

The verbal phrase consists of /wekh-/ 'see,' /-n̲ legg-/ 'begin,' /-Ø pæ-/ 'certainly,' and the phrase marker /-n̲a hæ/ suggesting immediate future.

```
88. ɪs kèt̲na de eser nal̲ swerɳ sɪ́ŋ de menopàwã wɪc ɪk
    PP                   PP                        PP

    warĩ pher kʊj ʊtthel pʊtthel jeí hon̲ leg peĪ.     (ns-217)
              NP                     VP
```

'Swaran Singh's mind was disturbed once again because of this happening.'

The verb phrase /hon̲ leg peĪ/ consists of a main verb /ho-/ 'become' with two catenatives, /-n̲ legg-/ 'begin,' and /-Ø pæ-/ 'certainly.' The sentence is more literally, 'Some disturbing matter certainly began to be in Swaran Singh's mind ...'

Catenatives after reinforcers are even rarer, but the following is an example:

```
89. per sentã da ɪšãra pa ke ʊs nu cèt pet̲ bár nɪkel jan̲a
    C   sVP                  NP    PP      PP  mVP

    pɪã.                                             (n-120)
```

'But when the Sadhu's motion was put, he had to go out at once.'

Reinforcers following conjunct verbs are also unusual, but do occur:

90. phɪr gerĪst jiwen di pwɪterta tã khetem ho geĪ, (m-78)
PP NP E VP

'Then, of course, the sanctity of married life is gone.'

The verb phrase /ketem ho geĪ/ consists of a conjunct verb /khetem ho/ 'to become finished' and a reinforcer /-∅ ja-/ plus a marker.

Occasionally one catenative will be used with a coordinated pair of preceding verbs: There is an example in sentence 24, section 6.11. /na wekhi na soci geĪ hæ/ 'is neither seen nor thought of.' /wekhi geĪ hæ/ 'is seen' and /soci geĪ hæ/ 'is thought of' are both perfectly ordinary phrases consisting of a base /wekh-/ or /soc-/, the catenative /-ɪa ja-/ 'passive,' and the phrase marker /-ɪa e/. /na ... na ..../ is the regular way of expressing disjunction with verb phrases.

Occasional sentences seem to permit an interpretation as having complex verb phrases without absolutely requiring it.

91. jiwẽ becca mã di god wɪc bæṯhda, hesda, khélda, khanda,
Crd NP PP ?

pinda, uche^{1}da hæ. (wc-233)
VP

'Like a baby on his mother's lap, he sits, laughs, plays, eats, drinks, and enjoys himself.'

/uchelda hæ/ 'he jumps,' 'he enjoys himself' might be interpreted as the main verbal phrase, in which case it is of a simple straightforward type. The five preceding verb forms, /bæṯhda/ 'sit,' /hesda/ 'laugh,' /khélda/ 'play,' /khanda/ 'eat,' and /pinda/ 'drink,' would then be adjectival verbal phrases. But it would be possible to interpret the structure as being a complex verbal phrase in which six present II verb forms are all constructed with one auxiliary in a coordinate construction.

CHAPTER 8

CLAUSES

8.1 Clause Elements

The favorite clause type in Panjabi has one essential element, a main verbal phrase. This may be any of the types described in 7.6. No other sentence element is required. The following are examples of sentences consisting of a verbal phrase alone:

já.	'Go.' (Imperative)
jana.	'I am going.'

The latter is a shortened form, best considered as /mæ jana./ with the 'subject' /mæ/ dropped. Most sentences consisting of a single verb phrase are best considered as more complex sentences with an element deleted.

It is quite usual to have one or more elements in addition to the verbal phrase. These are of several kinds. In Chapters 6 and 7 several types of phrases were described. These form a basis for a broad division of sentence elements as follows:

1) Those elements which are normally an NP, an AP, or an aVP. We will distinguish five types, see 8.2, 8.3, 8.4, 8.6.6, 8.7.

2) Those elements which are normally PP, see 8.7.

3) Those elements which are normally sVP, see 7.1.

8.2 The 'Indirect Object'

Certain verbs commonly have what is traditionally called an 'indirect object.' It translates the English indirect object in such sentences as:

móṉ ne sóṉ nu əmb dɪtta. 'Mohan gave Sohan a mango.'
iNP)

But it also translates the English direct object in such sentences as:

móṉ ne sóṉ nu marɪa. 'Mohan killed Sohan.'
iNP)

And in some instances it translates the English subject:

móṉ nu əmb khaṉa cáida. 'Mohan should eat the mango.'
iNP)

We will designate it simply iNP, as we have above.

The iNP is always a noun phrase with /nu/, or a pronoun in the dative case, see 5.5. The dative case is formed by the suffix /-nu/ which differs from the postposition /nu/ only in that it lacks a tone. Before /nu/ the noun must be in the oblique case. This noun is not ordinarily involved in any system of concord outside the phrase.

8.3 The 'Direct Object'

Certain verbs commonly have what is traditionally called a 'direct object.' We will label it simply as oNP. It translated the English direct object in such sentences as:

móṉ ne əmb kháda. 'Mohan ate the mango.'
oNP

But the English direct object is about as often translated by an iNP, see 8.2. The oNP often translates into something other than an English direct object:

món ne són nu ceper mari. 'Mohan slapped Sohan.'
oNP

In this latter use, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between an oNP and a noun as part of a conjunct verb, see

The oNP is always an NP in the direct case. It may be involved in a sentence concord system, see 8.5.

8.4. The 'Subject'

The most generally occurring clause element other than the mVP is what has traditionally been called the 'subject.' We will designate it the sNP. In the majority of cases it translates the English subject:

món ne són nu marɪa. 'Mohan killed Sohan.'
sNP)

But many sentences must be completely restructured on translation.

The sNP occurs in two forms:

1) as a pronoun or noun -- with or without modifiers -- in the direct case.

2) as a noun in the oblique case followed by /ne/, or a pronoun in the instrumental case. Under certain circumstances /ne/ is omitted, and the noun or pronoun remains in the oblique case.

In general,/ne/ is used only with past or infinitive forms of certain verbs. That is, with verb phrases including past verb forms or infinitives, with or without auxiliaries. The verbs concerned can be designated as transitives -- they are in general the verbs that can have an oNP or an iNP or both. The /ne/ itself is optional in many positions, and the whole construction is less rigidly followed than in Hindi. That is, the Panjabi use parallels in many ways the familiar rule of Hindi grammars that ने is always and only used with the past forms of transitive verbs, but in Panjabi the /ne/ is sometimes omitted.

The following rules can be given for the use of /ne/ with past transitive verbs:

1) Third person pronominal subjects are always /óne éne óna ne éna ne/ -- or the equivalent short forms /on en/ for the singulars. That is to say, the use of the instrumental case is generally compulsory, at least in careful speech and writing.

2) First and second person pronominal subjects never have /ne/. The forms are /mæ esĩ tũ tusĩ/ in all instances. However, in the concord system these may function as if /ne/ were present, see 8.5.

3) If there is an oNP and usually if there is an iNP, the sNP, if other than a pronoun, will have /ne/.

4) If there is neither an oNP nor an iNP, a noun as sNP may or may not have /ne/, but will be in the oblique case even

if the /ne/ is omitted. Careful formal writing uses the /ne/ in most instances. Colloquials omit it more often.

The following examples will illustrate these rules:

'... saw.'	'... saw Sohan.'	
óne wekhɪa.	'one sóṉ wekhɪa.	'He ...'
mæ wekhɪa.	mæ sóṉ wekhɪa.	'I ...'
móṉ wekhɪa.	móṉ ne sóṉ wekhɪa.	'Mohan ...'
móṉ ne wekhɪa.		

With intransitive verbs, or with non-past forms, /ne/ is not normally used:

'... went.'	'... see(s) Sohan.'	
ó gɪã.	ó sóṉ $\overset{\text{nu}}{\wedge}$ wekhda e.	'He ...'
mæ gɪã.	mæ sóṉ $\overset{\text{nu}}{\wedge}$ wekhda ã.	'I ...'
móṉ gɪã.	móṉ sóṉ $\overset{\text{nu}}{\wedge}$ wekhda e.	'Mohan ...'

The subject is commonly omitted when it is identical with that of an immediately preceding sentence. For purposes of describing the concord, it is best to consider these sentences as if they had the sNP, and that this is involved in the concord system in just the way it would be if expressed, but that it is dropped.

8.5 Concord

The main Verb phrase often is in concord with either the sNP or the oNP. The basic rules are simple: If the sNP is in the direct case (i.e., is without /ne/), the verb is in concord with it. If the sNP is not in the direct case, the verb phrase is in concord with the oNP if there is one. If there is no nNP and the sNP has /ne/, the verb phrase is masculine singular by convention. The following sentences -- somewhat schematic, of course -- show all types of sNP, masculine singular /mʊnda/ 'boy,' masculine plural /mʊnde/ 'boys,' feminine singular /kʊri/ 'girl,' and feminine plural /kʊriã/ 'girls,' and their equivalent forms with /ne/, combined with all types of oNP, masculine singular /sentra/ 'santra,' masculine plural /sentre/, feminine singular /nareŋgi/ 'orange,' feminine plural /nareŋgiã/ 'oranges,' and none. The sentences are not individually glossed. The gloss for each group will serve to indicate approximate meanings.

Present of an intransitive verb: 'The ... goes.'

mʊnda janda e.	mʊnde jande ne.
m.s. m.s.	m.p. m.p.
kʊri jandi e.	kʊriã jandiã ne.
f.s. f.s.	f.p. f.p.

Past of an intransitive Verb: 'The ... went.'

mʊnda gɪã.	mʊnde geẽ.
m.s. m.s.	m.p. m.p.
kʊri geĩ	kʊriã geĩã.
f.s. f.s.	f.p. f.p.

Present of a transitive Verb: 'The ... eats the ...'

mʊnda	sentra	khanda e.	mʊnde	sentra	khande ne.
m.s.	m.s.	m.s.	m.p.	m.s.	m.p.
mʊnda	sentre	khanda e.	mʊnde	sentre	khande ne.
m.s.	m.p.	m.s.	m.p.	m.p.	m.p.
mʊnda	nareŋgi	khanda e.	mʊnde	nareŋgi	khande ne.
m.s.	f.s.	m.s.	m.p.	f.s.	m.p.
mʊnda	nareŋgiã	khanda e.	mʊnde	nareŋgiã	khande ne.
m.s.	f.p.	m.s.	m.p.	f.p.	m.p.
mʊnda		khande.	mʊnde		khande ne.
m.s.		m.s.	m.p.		m.p.
kʊri	sentra	khandi e.	kʊriã	sentra	khandiã ne.
f.s.	m.s.	f.s.	f.p.	m.s.	f.p.
kʊri	sentre	khandi e.	kʊriã	sentre	khandiã ne.
f.s.	m.p.	f.s.	f.p.	m.p.	f.p.
kʊri	nareŋgi	khandi e.	kʊriã	nareŋgi	khandiã ne.
f.s.	f.s.	f.s.	f.p.	f.s.	f.p.
kʊri	nareŋgiã	khandi e.	kʊriã	nareŋgiã	khandiã ne.
f.s.	f.p.	f.s.	f.p.	f.p.	f.p.
kʊri		khandi e.	kʊriã		khandiã ne.
f.s.		f.s.	f.p.		f.p.

Past of a transitive verb: 'The ... ate the ...'

mʊn̲d̲e	ne	sentra	khád́a.	mʊn̲d̲ɪã	ne	sentra	khád́a.
m.s.		m.s.	m.s.	m.p.		m.s.	m.s.
mʊn̲d̲e	ne	sentre	khád́e.	mʊn̲d̲ɪã	ne	sentre	khád́e.
m.s.		m.p.	m.p.	m.p.		m.p.	m.p.
mʊn̲d̲e	ne	narəŋgi	khád́i.	mʊn̲d̲ɪã	ne	narəŋgi	khád́i.
m.s.		m.s.	f.s.	m.p.		f.s.	f.s.
mʊn̲d̲e	ne	narəŋgiã	khád́iã.	mʊn̲d̲ɪã	ne	narəŋgiã	khád́iã.
m.s.		f.p.	f.p.	m.p.		f.p.	f.p.
mʊn̲d̲e	ne		khád́a.	mʊn̲d̲ɪã	ne		khád́a.
m.s.			m.s.	m.p.			m.s.
mʊn̲d̲e			khád́a.	mʊn̲d̲ɪã			khád́a.
m.s.			m.s.	m.p.			m.s.
kuṟi	ne	sentra	khád́a.	kuṟiã	ne	sentra	khád́a.
f.s.		m.s.	m.s.	f.p.		m.s.	m.s.
kuṟi	ne	sentre	khád́e.	kuṟiã	ne	sentre	khád́e.
f.s.		m.p.	m.p.	f.p.		m.p.	m.p.
kuṟi	ne	narəŋgi	khád́i.	kuṟiã	ne	narəŋgi	khád́i.
f.s.		f.s.	f.s.	f.p.		f.s.	f.s.
kuṟi	ne	narəŋgiã	khád́iã.	kuṟiã	ne	narəŋgiã	khád́iã.
f.p.		f.s.	f.s.	f.p.		f.p.	f.p.

kur̲i	ne	kháda	kur̲iã	ne	kháda.
f.s.		m.s.	f.p.		m.s.
kur̲i		kháda.	kur̲iã		kháda.
f.s.		m.s.	f.p.		m.s.

8.6. Clause Patterns

At least the following clause patterns involving an mVP and one or more NPs have been found in Panjabi:

1. sNP + mVP. The verbs involved may be called 'intransitive.'

món̲ gɪã 'Mohan went.'
sNP mVP

Frequently there are various temporal or locative PPs:

món̲ šǽr gɪã. 'Mohan went to the city.'
sNP PP mVP

món̲ persõ šǽr gɪã si. 'Mohan went to the city day
sNP PP PP mVP before yesterday.'

The following are examples of this pattern:

92. són̲e menʊkh di intzar wɪc zemĩn esmãn perkerma ker reé hen.
PP sNP mVP
(g-123)

'The earth and the sky are circumambulating in their wait for the super man.'

93. óna wɪc rele hoe raja sáb de kuj d̲eru jeé wot̲er wi sen.
AP sNP E VP

(ss-151)

'There were some frightened voters of Raja Sahib gathered among them.'

/óna wɪc rele hoe/ 'gathered among them' is a semi-independent AP. Properly it should be a modifier of /wot̲er/, but there are already three such modifiers, including two that are phrasal, so this is displaced. It is not a major sentence element.

94. je mæ ɪk kènt̲a na jawã, phɪr. (sl-66)
Crd sNP PP mVP)

'If I do not go for another hour, then what?'

For additional examples, see sentences 2, 3, 15, 23, 30, 42, 53, 84, 90.

2) sNP + iNP + mVP.

món̲ ne són̲ nu wekhɪa. 'Mohan saw Sohan.'
sNP iNP mVP

Frequently there are various temporal or locative PPs:

món̲ ne són̲ nu jelénder wɪc wekhɪa.
sNP iNP PP mVP
'Mohan saw Sohan in Jullundhar.'

món̲ ne són̲ nu do weje wekhɪa.
sNP iNP PP mVP
'Mohan saw Sohan at two o'clock.'

The following are examples of this pattern:

95. ó apn̲e beccɪã diã šerārtã nu pesend kerdi si. (s-84)
sNP iNP mVP

'She liked the mischievous acts of her children.'

96. meri nastek ruci meĪnu apn̲i ma tõ mɪli hæ. (s-77)
sNP iNP PP mVP

'I received my atheistic tendency from my mother.'

97. ceŋga, jedõ sanu es kèr wɪccõ kéd dén̲ge tã tusã a jan̲a.
Crd iNP PP mVP E sNP mVP

'O.K., when they kick me out of this house, you may come in.'

In the first clause the sNP /ó/ is omitted. The second clause is of pattern 1, /tusã/ being oblique because /ne/ would be usual, but cannot occur after first and second person pronouns.

For an additional example of this pattern see sentence 45.

3) sNP + iNP + oNP + mVP

món̲ ne són̲ nu emb dɪtta. 'Mohan gave Sohan a
sNP iNP oNP mVP mango.'

Frequently there are various temporal or locative PPs:

98. ɪk dɪn mast̲er ne dine nu do tɪn cepēr̲ã t̲hok mariã. (ss-91)
PP sNP iNP oNP mVP

'One day the master slapped Dina a couple of times.'

99. hušnak síŋ ne é kheber apn̲e dostã nu dessi. (da-90)
sNP oNP iNP mVP

'Hushnak Singh told this thing to all his friends.'

100. dine nu rəb ne ɪk rup nəí si dɪtta. (ss-92)
iNP sNP oNP mVP

'God had not blessed Dina with handsomeness.'

The following are examples of this pattern with one of the elements dropped:

101. ʊs ne bɪje síŋ nu cher̲en̲ ləI kəI wari akhn̲a. (s-75)
sNP iNP PP PP mVP

'On several occasions she would say this to Bije Singh to tease him.'

The oNP /é/ 'this' is omitted, but can be suppled /... é akhn̲a/.

102. kʊj na kəÍ, ram lal. (s-84)
oNP mVP Voc

'Don't say anything, Ram Lal.'

The sNP, presumably /tũ/ 'you' is omitted; there could be an iNP but this slot is empty:

món̲ nu kʊj na kəÍ, ram lal.

'Don't say anything to Mohan, Ram Lal.'

103. óde ləI óne sad̲a koi kərza nəí den̲a. (s-78)
PP sNP oNP mVP

'He does not owe us anything for that.'

(Lit. 'He does not have to give our any debt for that.')

The following would have the iNP, omitted in 103, possibly because of the use of /sad̲a/ 'our', which is here omitted:

óde ləI óne sanu koi kərza nəí den̲a.

PP sNP iNP oNP mVP

4) sNP + oNP + mVP

món̲ ne əmb kháda. 'Mohan ate a mango.'

sNP oNP mVP

This pattern differs from the last one in that an iNP is not permissible, not simply that it has been omitted. Certain verbs takean iNP (wekhn̲a), certain an oNP (khan̲a) and certain either or both (den̲a). This pattern also can have various locative or temporal PPs.

104. zɪ̲ndgi di khéd jiundi əd̲ōlta məŋgdi hæ. (g-27)
sNP oNP mVP

'The game of life demands living stability.'

105. əggõ kəde əmirã̃ di nɔkri nəí kərni. (m-41)
PP oNP mVP

'Henceforth, I shall never work with the rich people.'

The sNP /mæ/ is omitted, but can be supplied.

106. pə̀rthəri ne ɪk dɪn jogiã̃ di ləggi məjləs wɪc binæ kiti.
sNP PP PP oNP mVP
(wa-132)

'One day, in a meeting of Yogis, Bharthari made a request.'

This pattern is not wholly distinct from number 3. Some verbs seem always to have an iNP, others an oNP, and some to vacilate. That is to say, in some sentences the /nu/ is optional.

5) iNP + oNP + mVP.

món̲ nu emb khan̲a cáida. 'Mohan should eat a
iNP oNP mVP mango.'

This pattern does not have an sNP. It can occur with various PPs. For examples see sentences 65 to 68.

6) sNP + AP + mVP

món̲ ceŋga e. 'Mohan is good.'
sNP AP mVP

107. jenta wi ceŋgi reŋ meñc leɪ ʊtãwli si. (p-22)
sNP E PP AP VP

'The public was also eager for a better stage.'

For additional examples see sentences 8, 109. In sentences 7 and 25 the sNP is omitted but can be supplied.

108. nɪmerta, wærãg, erdãs, te deršen-sɪk de pàw endrõ ekãši
sNP PP AP

pɪ́ŋ de set reŋgã waŋu cekrakar ho lɪ̌ske. (wb-153)
VP

'The feelings of humility, detachment, prayer, and divine vision from within became divinely bright like the seven colors of the rainbow.'

109. t̲ebber de che ji sen. (s-199)
AP NP VP

'There were six people in the family.'

7) sNP + cNP + mVP

```
món̲ mʊn̲d̲a e.                'Mohan is a boy.'
sNP cNP  mVP
```

This pattern has an additional type of nominal element, cNP. This agrees in gender and number with sNP in most cases, and the verb phrase therefore shows concord with both.

```
110.  te je nɪra pʊra mæ apn̲e pɪõ werga hʊnda, tã ɪk ceŋga
      C Crd AP        sNP AP              VP      E cNP

      percārek jã sádu ben̲da.                           (s-77)
                       VP
```

'If I had been just like my father, I would have become a good preacher or a sadhu.'

The second clause is of this pattern, with the sNP omitted because it is specified in the first clause. The first clause is of pattern 6. /nɪra pʊra/ 'just' is a displaced modifier of /apn̲e pɪõ werga/ 'like my father.' For additional examples see sentences 4, 5, 21, 22,120.

8) sNP + PP + VP We include here clauses in which the PP seems to be more integrally a part of the basic structure than is the case with some sentences in pattern 1.

```
món̲ kol emb si.             'Mohan had a mango.'
```

```
111.  kešmir gʊlāb sɪ́ŋ kol hæ.                          (sl-23)
      sNP    PP             VP
```

'Kashmir is in the possession of Gulab Singh.'

/nu/ is sometimes used as the postpositon in this pattern.

112. bɪje sɪ́ŋ nu ɪs gel da gussa si. (s-117)
PP sNP VP

'Bija Singh was angry about this matter.'

(Lit. 'To Bije Singh was anger about this matter.')

9) iNP + AP + VP

món̲ nu ceŋga hon̲a cáida. 'Mohan should be good.'

This and similar constructions are very common with /cá-/ 'want.'

113. pɪõ nu ma kolõ sɪãn̲a nen̲na cáida hæ. (s-74)
iNP AP VP

'A father ought to be considered more intelligent than a mother.'

10) sNP ne + cNP + VP.

món̲ ne wɪdɪãrthi ben̲na si. 'Mohan was going to become a student.'

This construction is only used when the verb is an infinitive, with or without the auxiliary. The verb is masculine singular in any example, that is, there is no concord.

114. je belwent sɪ́ŋ na merda, tã us ne subedar yekīni ben̲
C sNP mVP E sNP cNP PP

jan̲a si. (s-93)

'If Balwant Singh had not died, he would certainly have become a Subedar.'

11) sNP + iNP + cNP + mVP

óne bìro nu tì ben̲āɪa. 'He made Bhiro a daughter.'
sNP VP cNP VP (He adopted Bhiro.)

This pattern differs from number 3, which it superficially resembles, in that there is no concord. In the above example /tì/ 'daughter' is in the direct case, but /ben̲āɪa/ 'made' is masculine singular instead of feminine singular as it would be following pattern 3.

115. šam sʊnder nu esĩ noker kedi wi neĩ sémjɪa. (da-32)
iNP sNP cNP E E mVP

'We have never treated Sham Sundar as a servant.'

8.7 Postpositional Phrases

Postpositional phrases and equivalent single words (adverbs) comprise a number of types of sentence elements. Some are rather freely insertable into any clause pattern; others are probably best considered as essential elements of certain patterns. These have not been thoroughly classified, nor have their places in clause patterns been examined.

However, one basis of classification is important and should be mentioned. Postpositional phrases can be substituted for by certain interrogative words -- or, otherwise expressed, certain postpositional phrases can be answers to questions asked by certain iterrogative words. There are four groups:

1) Locative Expressions answer the questions /kɪtthe/ 'where' or /kɪtthõ/ 'from where.' They include correlatives

of the question words, /éthe/ 'here,' etc., see 5.6, and numerous phrases with such postpositions as /wɪc/ 'in,' /ʊtte/ 'on,' etc.

2) Temporal Expressions answer the questions /kəd/ 'when' and /kədõ/ 'since when.' They include a number of adverbs such as /hʊn/ 'now,' /persõ/ 'day before yesterday,' certain noun phrases in the oblique case, as /do wəje/ 'at two o'clock,' and phrases with certain postpositions, such as /wɪc/, /pɪcche/.

3) Manner expressions answer the questions /kɪwẽ/, /kɪõ/, and /kɪñj/. They include such adverbs as /éwẽ/ 'thus,' phrases with certain postpositions such as /te/ 'by,' as in /gəd̲d̲i te/ 'by train,' and certain subordinate verbal phrases, such as /lʊk chɪp ke/ 'secretly' (more literally, 'hiding'), see sentence 53.

4) Other Postpositional Expressions. These answer questions of the form /kɪs nal/ 'with what,' 'with whom,' with various postpositions. They include many phrases including the same postposition as the question.

Presumably these four types of elements have different functions in clause patterns, but these cannot yet be defined.

Notice that the several groups cannot be separated on the basis of the postpositions used. In sentence 53 /ɪs dəran wɪc/ 'during this period' answers the question /kəd/ and is temporal. In sentence 91 /mã di god wɪc/ 'on mother's knee' answers the question /kɪtthe/ and is locative. In sentence 75 /éna haltã wɪc/ 'under these conditions' would answer the question /kɪwẽ/ 'how' and is a manner expression. In sentence 92, /són̲e menukh di intzar wɪc/ 'in expectation of the superman,' would most likely be an answer to /kɪs wɪc/ 'in what,' and is of the last group.

CHAPTER 9

EMPHASIS

9.1 Principles

We shall discuss here four devices by which a sentence element is given special prominence. We shall call this special prominence 'emphasis,' but with the understanding that its function is not always the same. It may be used to focus attention on the sentence element, to signal contrast, to assist in joining sentences together in sequences, or to perform various other tasks in the discourse. The functions in longer passages than sentences have not as yet been analyzed and so will not be distinguished here.

The four devices discussed here are:

1) intonation
2) change of position of a phrase
3) emphatic particles
4) iteration of words.

These devices are commonly used in various combinations. Intonation can be used alone, but the others, in general, cannot be used without accompanying intonational emphasis. The details of this interrelation of devices vary widely from combination to combination. The devices may be illustrated as applied to the following basic sentence:

```
2       1
móṉ šǽr gɪã si.#         'Mohan went to the city.'
NP  PP  VP
```

This can be given emphatic intonation at various points by raising the point of highest pitch to /3/ and perhaps also shifting its position in the sentence:

```
3       1
móṉ šǽr gɪã si #         'Mohan went to the city.'

2   3   1
móṉ šǽr gɪã si #         'Mohan went to the city.'

2       3   1
móṉ šǽr gɪã si #         'Mohan went to the city.'
```

In the following set, intonation is combined with change of phrase position:

```
3          1
sǽr giã si móṉ #         'Mohan went to the city.'

3          1
gɪã si šǽr móṉ #         'Mohan went to the city.'
```

In the following, an emphatic particle is used following the phrase with high pitch and giving it further emphasis.

```
3         1
móṉ i šǽr gɪã si #       'Mohan went to the city.'

2   3     1
móṉ šǽr i gɪã si #       'Mohan went to the city.'
```

Emphasis by iteration is not possible with this same basic sentence, but can be illustrated by the following:

```
2         1
móṉ jeldi gɪã si #       'Mohan went qucikly.'

2   3           1
móṉ jeldi jəldi gɪã si # 'Mohan went very quickly.'
```

Verb reinforcers (see 7.4) and certain catenatives (see 7.3, particularly 12 and 13) sometimes have functions quite similar to those of emphatic particles. Certain types of two-word compounds, particularly echo constructions (see 6.9 and 7.5) also have functions similar to emphasis.

In the following sections, the more important emphatic particles will be discussed. The following occur:

i ~ hi	see 9.3	hã	9.9
te	9.6	hæ	9.10
tã	9.6	na	9.15
seí	9.7	kɪ	9.13
pèl̲a	9.7	káda	9.12
khã	9.8	thór̲a	9.11
jʊ	9.5	ga	9.14
wi	9.4		

9.2 Meanings of Particles

There seems to be a quite general tendency among writers on South Asian languages 1) to give inadequate attention to the emphatic particles, and 2) to attempt to find translation equivalents. Most of the grammars mention few if any of the particles, and most give meanings which are applicable only to limited contexts. One of the better treatments is that of Grahame Bailey.[1] Concerning ही the Hindi equivalent of /i/ or /hi/ he says:

---

[1] Bailey, T. Grahame. 1950. *Teach Yourself Hindustani*. London, The English Universities Press, p. 124.

> When its force is emphatic, the emphasis may be laid either on the actual word immediately preceding, or on the fact as a whole. Sometimes the stress is laid on an act suggesting that it was just about to begin, or was just going on, or had just finished. Sometimes it means "only," "merely" or "at least," or again it may mean "finally,"or "with difficulty" and lastly there is the use with "neither ... nor."

Such a statement is misleading. ही "means" 'only' in a sentence like मैं दस ही आने दूंगा 'I'll give you only ten annas,' but it does so simply by the fact that it marks emphasis in a statement which obviously implies some notion of maximum with or without ही . In some other context where the whole discourse would imply a minimum, the "meaning" of ही would be 'at least.' Any such translation, however, is more a function of the context than of the particle itself, and should not be considered as a "meaning."

The emphatic particles must be described in terms of their use rather than their meanings. In this chapter, unfortunately, it will be possible only to suggest certain features, mostly structural relations within sentences. The emphatic particles are of great significance in super-sentence syntax. A major function of most of them is to assist in signaling the sequential relationships of sentences. Most of this, however, is not yet susceptible of precise description.

9.3 /i/ ~ /hi/

/i/ or /hi/ is the most common emphatic particle in Panjabi. The variant /i/ is more frequent in colloquial usage, whereas

/hi/ is more frequent in formal literary Panjabi. There seem to be no significant differences in structural relationships.

/i/ follows a phrase with high pitch giving intonational emphasis. It further reinforces that emphasis. Generally speaking, the intonational emphasis is marked at the beginning of the phrase and the /i/ occurs after the end of the phrase. As a consequence of the rule just given, /i/ is never initial. Moreover, /i/ is very seldom final.

```
116. 3              2         1
     ekta te sáñj i menʊkh nu nɪscīnt ben̲a sekde ne # (g -35)
     NP           E NP        AP      VP
```

'Only unity and cooperation can make man fearless.'

/i/ follows the noun phrase /ekta te sáñj/ 'unity and cooperation' which bears pitch /3/ at its beginning. This signals that the whole phrase is to be emphasized, as has been indicated by the underlining.

If a noun phrase is to be emphasized with /i/, it must precede the verb phrase. Without /i/ there would be no such restriction, and the noun phrase might follow the verb phrase.

```
117. 3          2        1
     kʊrbani hi jiwen da pèd e #                          (k-83)
     NP       E NP          VP
```

'Sacrifice is the secret of life.'

```
     3                1
     jiwen da pèd i e kʊrbani #
     NP           E VP NP
```

'Sacrifice is the very secret of life.'

In this sentence, emphasis is on /jiwen da pèd/ 'secret of life.' It would not be possible to put emphasis on /kurbāni/ 'sacrifice' in this position by the use of /i/.

```
2                    1                  3       1
menukh nu nɪscɪ̄nt ben̲a sekde ne, ekta te sáñj #
NP        AP      VP                NP
```

The meaning of this sentence is much the same as that of 116 above. The shift of position of /ekta te sáñj/ and the accompanying high pitch provide emphasis, but it is not possible to add /i/ for any further emphasis, because the VP precedes.

```
118. 2                       3                  1
     esã keɪ̄ war khɪāl kita, ludɪàne jelénder i a jaie.# (sl-64)
     sNP PP       oNP   VP    PP                E VP
```

'Several times we thought of coming over to Ludiana or Jullundhur.'

/ludiàne jelénder/ 'Ludhiana or Jullundhur/ is a closely knit phrase, and can only be emphasized as a whole. If, however, /jã/ 'or' is inserted, the phrase is less closely knit and it is possible to emphasize either the whole or a part:

```
         3
.... ludɪàne jã jelénder i ...
                         E
```

This has essentially the same meaning as the sentence above.

```
                   3
.... ludɪàne jã jelénder i ...
                         E
```

'... to Ludhiana or even to Jullundhur.'

/i/ occurs only once in any one sentence. If two or more elements require emphasis, /i/ may be used with one and some other particle with the other, see 9.5. /i/ does not follow interrogatives (see 5.6) or auxiliaries. When a verb phrase is emphasized by /i/ the latter follows the main verb, but the emphasis applies to the whole phrase:

```
2     3    1
munda rǽ i gɪā #          'The boy was left behind.'
NP    V  E V
```

Compare sentence 74, section 7.6.

/i/ may occur between iterated nouns for emphasis:

pette i pette 'lots of leaves'

9.4 /wi/

/wi/ is one of the few emphatics which is fairly safely glossed. It means 'also.' Its structural relations within sentences are very closely similar to those of /i/. It follows a phrase with intonational emphasis. It cannot occur initially, and seldom occurs finally. Only one /wi/ can occur in a sentence. The following are examples:

```
119. 2    3              2                1
     ratī sʊtti sʊtti wi emmi emmi berran leg peīndi e # (ns-
     PP   AP          E  Voc       VP                    205)
```

'At night when she is asleep, she begins to cry, "Mother, mother".'

/sʊtti/ 'asleep' is a past of /sō-/ 'sleep.' The iteration and the high pitch both give emphasis, and the /wi/ following reinforces that. It might be translated 'even when she is asleep,' but that seems a bit excessive in English. /ratī/ 'at night' is a locative plural, see 5.4.

120. 2 3 1
óna wɪc keɪ̃ ʊsde cehete setsəŋgiã de na wi mojūd sen #
PP NP E AP VP

(ns-207)

'Among them were names of several of his close friends.'

Because of the considerable length of the NP, it seems more natural to read it with the /3/ on /na/ 'name' instead of at the beginning of the whole phrase. /keɪ̃/ 'some' seems to modify /setsəŋgiã/ and would normally follow /ʊsde/ 'his,' see 6.4

For other examples of /wi/ see 6.11, sentences 8 and 14, and 7.6, sentence 72.

When both /i/ and /wi/ occur in the same sentence, /i/ accompanies the intonational emphasis, that is, /i/ takes precedence over /wi/.

121. 2 3 1
hʊn mʊnši da petrìa wi sari ʊmer kʊāra hi reéga # (m2-37)
PP NP E PP NP E VP

'Now, Munshi's nephew will remain a bachelor all his life.'

9.5 /jʊ/

/jʊ/ is similar in its patterns of use to /i/. It follows immediately after a phrase with emphatic intonation and reinforces the emphasis.

3 2 1
món jʊ šǽr gɪã e # 'Mohan has gone to the city, so why worry.'

Compare:

3 2 1
món i šǽr gɪã e #
'Yes, Mohan has gone to the city.'

3 2 1
món te šǽr gɪã e #
(You were asking about Mohan)
'Well, Mohan has gone to the city.'

2 3 1
món te šǽr gɪa e #
'Well, Mohan has gone to the city.'

Constructions comparable to the last are not possible with either /i/ or /ju/.

122. 2 2 1 2 3 1
ó óthe ɔnda janda rəínda e, pɪnd lage ju hoɪa # (ic-33)
NP PP VP PP AP E VP

'He usually comes over there. After all, his village is close by.'

123. 3 1 2 1
gəddi ju hoi, ɪk peíe te kɪwẽ cele # (sl-65)
PN E VP PP E PP VP

'After all, it is a train; how can it run on one wheel?'

9.6 /te/ and /tã/

The emphatic particle /te/ must be distinguished from the connective /te/ 'and,' see 6.7 and from the postposition /te/ 'on,' see 5.12.

In non-initial position in a sentence, /te/ and /tã/ are in free variation. With speakers of Majhi, /te/ is more common, and with speakers of Doabi and Malwi, /tã/ is more common.

/te/ either precedes or follows the phrase with higher intonation, but in either case reinforces the emphasis marked by intonation:

3 2 1
món te gɪã si šǽr # 'Mohan went to the city.'
NP E VP PP

2 3 1
món te gɪa si šǽr # 'Mohan went to the city.'
NP E VP PP

124. 2 3 1
lokã di jíb te neí na pheri jandi // (m2-31)
NP E VP

'After all, you cannot hold the people's tongue.'

The following would be equivalent:

lokã di jíb tã neí na pheri jandi.

125. 2 3 1
cɪri te bámni hundi e # (m2-17)
NP E NP VP

'The sparrow is a Brahman, isn't she?'

126. rɪzek tã reb ne rej ke dɪtta hoɪa e # (ic-24)
NP E NP VP

'God has given plenty of things.'

/rej ke/ 'filling' is a sVP, and though not directly connected to /rɪzek/ 'things,' is best translated as 'plenty.'

When two sentence elements are to be emphasized, /i/ is commonly used for the one with major emphasis, and /te/ for the one with minor emphasis.

127. 2 3 1
ɪstõ əgge tã gəddi ne jana hi nəí si # (ns-45)
PP E NP VP E

'The train was not to go any farther.'

Since there can only be one /3/ in a sentence, this is on the phrase accompanied by /i/. /tã/ accompanies a phrase with /2/, and is thus clearly subordinate to /i/.

128. 2 3 1
tiwiã di te sunda i koi nəí # (ic-19)
AP E V E

'Nobody pays any attention to women.'

129. 2 3 1
peñj sət te mæ wi wekhe si # (m-105)
NP E NP E VP

'Even I saw half a dozen.'

/peñj set/ 'five seven' expresses an approximate number, see 5.9 . /te/ and /wi/both emphasize /mæ/, /wi/ following the same patterns as /i/. See sentence 82 for another example.

/te/ and /i/ can combine to emphasize a single phrase. In this case, /te/ immediately follows /i/.

130. 2 1 3 1
bes ji, təŋg hi te a gɪã #
NP E E

'Yes sir, he was really annoyed.'

/tã/, but not /te/can occur initially:

131. 3 1 2 1
tã pel̀, zərūr muŋde nu pérn lao # (so-34)
E Voc PP NP VP

'Then (if that is the case), brother, do send your son to study.'

Initial /tã/ may be immediately followed by /te/. The combination of /tã te/ functions as one unit meaning something like 'so then.'

```
132.  2            1
      tã te on nəí sade nal jana #
      E  E  NP Neg PP
```

'So he won't go with us?'

9.7 /səí/ and /pèla/

/səí/ and /pèla/ generally emphasize the verb phrase and semantically indicate a sort of ultimatum. When sentence final, they are always followed by / // /. They most frequently occur following /te/ or /tã/.

```
   2 3    2
   ó awe te səí //          'He dare not come.'
  NP VP  E  E
```

```
   2 3     2
   ó aɪa i səí //           'So what if he came?'
  NP VP  E E
```

```
133.  2            3     2    2     1
      ó mere nal awe te səí, mæ ónu wekháuŋga #
     NP PP        VP  E  E
```

'Let him come with me; I will show him.'

```
   2 3          2
   ó jawe te səí pèla //  'He dare not go.'
  NP VP    E  E    E
```

```
134.  2          3       1   2   3       1
      mæ te pèla akhɪa i si, ónu nəí si jana cáida #
      NP E  E    VP    E     NP  VP
```

'Even if I did happen to say this,he shouldn't have gone.'

/pèl̲a/ can occur in initial position.

135.	2		2	1		2		3		1			
	pèl̲a	je	tera	koi	neí,	tũ	jemá	kíde	leī	kerda	ẽ	#	(m-63)
	E	Crd	PP	NP	Neg	NP	VP	PP		VP			

'Well, if you don't have anyone of your own, why do you pile up all this money?

9.8. /khã/

/khã/ is colloquial and is rarely used in the written language. It functions very much like /seí/ and /pèl̲a/. But whereas /seí/ and /pèl̲a/ can occur in the same sentence, /səí / and /khã/ cannot./khã/ can only precede /pèl̲a/. The combination of /khã/ and /pèl̲a/ is slightly more emphatic than either alone.

2	3	2		
tũ	jawī	khã	//	'You dare not go.'
NP	VP	E		

2	3		2		
tũ	jawī	khã	pèl̲a	//	'You dare not go.'
NP	VP	E	E		

9.9 /hã/

/hã/ occurs only at the beginning of a sentence and is followed by /,/. It can often be translated 'of course,' 'however.'

136. 2 2 2 3 1
hã , səma pa ke dóã da rəŋg ɪkko ho janda e # (m-26)
E sVP NP AP VP

'Of course, in due course both have the same color.'

137. 2 2 2 3 1
hã , sár̲i de phul hər warĩ wəkhre hunde # (m-121)
E NP PP AP VP

'However, the sari had a different print every time.'

9.10 /hæ/

The emphatic particle /hæ/ is used both in written and spoken Panjabi. It must not be confused with the auxiliary /hæ/ which is used only in literary language and only at the ends of clauses; /e/ is used in its place in all colloquial and much written Panjabi.

The emphatic particle /hæ/ can occur anywhere in the sentence, but cannot interrupt phrase units. It frequently accompanies /te/. At the beginning of a sentence /hæ/ precedes /te/; elsewhere /te/ precedes /hæ/.

2 3 3
ó janda te hæ // 'Are you sure he is going?'
NP VP E E

3 2 2 3 1
kərda te ó hæ, pər bən̲da kuj neí #
VP E NP E

'Even though he tries hard, he doesn't succeed.'

138. 3   2   2   2   1
hæ te si kan̲a, per ber̲a læk #   (m2-34)
E E VP NP

'Even though he was a one-eyed man, he was very intelligent.'

9.11 /thór̲a/

The emphatic particle /thór̲a/ follows a noun phrase with high pitch. It gives a general negative emphasis to the sentence.

3   1
mæ thór̲a akhɪa si #   'I didn't say, did I?'
NP E   VP

It is sometimes inflected for gender and number, but this is optional.

3   1
ó thór̲e geẽ sen #   'They didn't go, did they?'
NP E   VP

ó thór̲a geẽ sen #

It may also give some specific emphasis on the noun phrase.

3   2   1
esĩ thór̲a khéd̲de sã othe #   'We weren't playing there.'
NP E   VP   PP

9.12 /káda/

The emphatic particle /káda/ occurs only in coordinate sentences, see Chapter 10. It always precedes a verb phrase and is inflected for gender and number to agree with the verb.

3   1   3 1
admi káda si, de si #   'He wasn't a man, he was a giant.'
NP   E   VP NP VP

139. 3   1   3   1
hetti kádi si, khan si #   (m2-26)
NP   E   VP NP   VP

'That wasn't just a shop, that was a mine.'

140. 2 3   1   2   3   1
mæ gel kádi ker beĭtha, ó mere gel i pæ gɪã #
NP NP E   VP   NP NP   E VP

'I just happened to say this and he was after me like anything.'

9.13 /kɪ/

Emphatic /kɪ/ always occurs finally, after the verb phrase. It frequently means something like 'after all,' 'that's all.'

141. 2   3   2
esĭ deršen i kerne ne kɪ //   (m-29)
NP NP   E VP   E

'We just want to pay a visit, after all.'

2   3   2
tusĭ jana i a kɪ //
NP   VP   E   E

'All you want to do is to go.'

2   3   2
óna ona i a kɪ //
NP VP E   E

'After all, they'll come.'

2   3   2
óne kɪá si kɪ //
NP VP   E

'He did say so, didn't he?'

9.14 /ga/

The emphatic particle /ga/ is used only in colloquial, where it is common in very informal speech, but rare or absent in formal. It occurs after the emphatic particle /hæ/ or after auxiliaries. It is inflected to show concord for number and gender.

```
141a. 2                                3       1   2        1
      óthe óna da koi phoj da apna neí hæ ga si, d̲eŋger t̲òr #
      PP   sNP                     Neg E  E  Aux sNP
                                                        (R)
```

'There the army did not have its own cattle.'

The two parts of the sentences marked sNP are actually one discontinuous phrase.

```
142.  2    1 3            1
      ánde , hum̲e i si gi éthe #                      (D)
      V        PP  E Aux E PP
```

'They said, she was here just now.'

9.15 /na/

/na/ is one of three negatives, /neí/, /ná/, and /na/. /ná/ is a feminine singular noun and is used in such contexts as the following:

```
2   3  1
óne ná kiti                  'He said no.'
NP  NP VP

3   2  1
óne ná kiti                  'He said no.'
```

/ná/ is not strictly an emphatic, but there is usually some sort of emphasis marker in sentences in which /ná/ occurs.

/neí/ is the usual negative in most contexts. It is used independently or loosely connected to a sentence to mean 'no.'

neí, món̲ neí gɪã. 'No, Mohan didn't go.'
NP VP

Within sentences it usually occurs within the verb phrase. The normal order of such negative verb phrases differs from that of affirmative, see 7.6. However, it may be moved to some other position for emphasis:

143. 3 2 1 2 2 1
mæ ni dúd pin̲a, mæ tã rot̲i khan̲i æ̃. (ss-)
sNP Neg oNP VP sNP E oNP VP

'I won't drink milk, I want to eat bread.'

This sentence is in Malwi dialect, in Majhi it would be:

mæ neí dúd pin̲a, mæ te rot̲i khan̲i ẽ.

A less emphatic form would be:

mæ dúd neí pin̲a, mæ te rot̲i khan̲i ẽ.

/neí/ is not used with the imperative or hortative forms of the verb, see 7.6. Instead, /na/ is the usual negative:

144. 2 3 1
ónu kha pi ke te lʊken̲ nu mʊrke thã na lébbe (D)
NP VP C PP PP NP VP

'After eating and drinking everything, she couldn't find a place to hide.'

/na/ is used as an emphatic particle. In this use it comes at the end of the sentence with / // /, or following certain other emphatics. It can often be translated by an English echo question:

```
2 3    2
ó grā si na //      'He went, didn't he?'

2 3      2
ó neí si grā na //  'He didn't go, did he?'
```

```
145. 2     3         1          2  3      2
     je mæ tere i wet̲ kéd̲ ched̲d̲a, te ceŋga si na //   (m-95)
     C  NP NP         VP         C  AP    VP E
```

'If I had set you̲ right, it would have been much better, wouldn't it?' (Lit.: 'If I had pressed out your wrinkles, ...')

```
146. 2   1 2    3                  2
     bes , bebe gellã i kern jogi e na //               (ic-23)
            NP   AP                VP E
```

'Bebe is good for nothing except talking, isn't she?'

```
147. 3                      2     2
     æs het̲t̲i wale di gel kerdi ẽ na //                  (m2-29)
     NP                     VP    E
```

'Are you talking about this shopkeeper?'

/na/ can occur with various other emphatic particles at the end of sentences, but commonly only with /hæ/ elsewhere:

```
3       2  2
neí te na seí //    'If no, let it be no.  (What do
                     I care?)'

3      2    1
hæ na ber̲a són̲a //  'Isn't he handsome?'     (ic-29)
E  E  AP
```

/na/ is also used as a connective. In the form /na ... na .../ it means 'neither ... nor ...'. This may join clauses or certain phrase units, see sentence 24, 6.11.

```
3      1        2     3         1
na i ó kèr aɪa, na on koi kəm i kita #
C  E NPNP  VP   C  NP NP        VP
```

'He neither came home, nor did he do anything.'

```
148. puri na éthe peī, na óthe pæn̲i e.              (m-31)
     NP   C  PP   VP   C  PP   VP
```

'Success neither has come here nor will come there.'

A single /na/ is used between identical verb forms to mean 'or not.' The resulting construction is nominal.

```
2    3          1
mera kɪá na kɪá ɪk bərābər #
NP              AP
```

'Whether I say so or not doesn't make any difference.' (Lit.: 'My saying or no saying is equivalent to one.')

9.16 Iteration

Iteration is a common device for emphasis. Nouns:

```
149. pɪn̲d̲ pɪn̲d̲ wɪc sərkār de wɪrúd gussa si.        (s-99)
     PP            PP              AP      VP
```

'In every village there was anger against the government.'

Adjectives:

```
150. éthe mera ji kərda si, mæ cəŋga cəŋga dɪssā̃.    (gs-16)
     PP   NP      VP        NP AP          VP
```

'At that place I wanted to appear very nice.'

Adverbs:

151. bɪje sɪ́ŋ wi kəde kəde éna méntiã nal rel̠n̠ da jətən
NP PP NP

kərda si. (s-121)
VP

'Every once in a while Bije Singh would make an effort to be with these industrious people.

Verbs:

152. socde socde ʊs di bɪrti óna kɪkkər de dərə̄khtã wəl jandi.
VP NP PP VP

(ss-101)

'In this reflective mood, his thoughts would turn toward those kikkar trees.' (Lit.: 'Thinking, thinking, his thoughts ...)

153. mere kǽndi kǽndi tõ tere wali rot̠i kut̠ia wale sád nu de
PP NP NP VP

dɪtti. (ss-)

'In spite of my objections, she gave the bread to the sadhu from Kutia.' (Lit.: 'From my speaking speaking, she ...)

See also sentences 51, 52.

CHAPTER 10

COORDINATION AND SENTENCE SEQUENCING

10.1 Coordination and Balance

Many Panjabi sentences are composed of two -- or occasionally more -- clauses in a coordinate construction. These are typically joined by certain coordinating elements, connectives, pronouns, or adverbs. Often these are in pairs, one introducing each clause. The two clauses are typically connected by /,/. In this chapter we will list and exemplify a number of these coordinating patterns.

There are also strong tendencies toward structural parallelism in the two clauses in coordinate sentences. This is to be sure a tendency rather than an absolute requirement, but it is sufficiently strong to be of considerable importance. Many of the examples below will be spaced out to show this parallelism. A few general features are worth note at this point. Often the clauses have the same elements in the same order. In other instances, one clause is an expansion of the other -- it has the same elements in the same order but with one additional element. There is a strong tendency to balance in verbal phrases. That is, both phrases commonly have the same number of elements, sometimes the same internal structure.

Finally there is a strong tendency to omit from subsequent clauses elements which if included would be exactly identical.

This omission of elements is an important signal of sequential relationships between clauses. A simple example of such omission is the following:

je ó ja sekda si,

tã tũ wi .

'If he could go, you could go too.'

We may consider that the second clause contains by implication /ja sekda si/. This omission, the pair of coordinate markers /je ... tã .../ 'if ... then ...' and the emphatic /wi/ are all important structural markers in such a sentence.

The following example shows extreme parallelism in structure, two coordinate pairs being further connected:

154. tusĭ ed̲e i juãn o, jed̲a tuàd̲a wĭšwaš , te ed̲e
NP PP AP VP NP NP [VP] C [NP] PP
i búd̲d̲e , jed̲a tuàd̲a šeŋka . (g -113)
AP [VP] NP NP [VP]

'You are young to the extent you have confidence, and old to the extent you have doubts.'

The square brackets [ ] indicate sentence elements which are omitted. For example, the second clause must be considered as parallel to the following independent clause form : /ed̲a tuàd̲a wĭšwaš e./ 'You have this much confidence.'

155. jér̲e̲ dɪn ó cepr̲asi di terĭmet hespetãl wɪc reí,
PP NP PP VP

ʊs	nu	bakiã	wergi			khʊrāk	mɪldi reí,
NP		PP				NP	VP
		bakiã	waŋ			ódiã cadrã	bedeldiã reíã,
		PP				NP	VP
		bakiã	waŋ	óde	becce nal	lad̲	hʊnde reé.(d-83)
		PP		PP		NP	VP

'All those days when the wife of that peon was in the hospital, she was given food like the others, her bed-sheets were changed like the others, and her children were loved like the others.'

The second, third, and fourth clauses show very close parallelism in structure. The second has one phrase /ʊs nu/ 'to her' which is without parallels, and the fourth has /óde becce nal/ 'with her children.' However, there is another kind of parallelism which cuts across the three -- that between /ʊs nu/, /ódiã/, and /óde/ -- which further ties the clauses together.

156.	jedõ	sekhõ	ne	con̲wiã peñjābi kehān̲iã da seŋgrá
	Crd	NP		NP
				chapn̲a kita,
				VP
	tã	mæ	peñjābi wɪc pǽli	kehān̲i meri nani
	Crd	NP	PP	
				lɪkhi . (m-19)
				VP

'When Sekhon decided to publish a selection of Panjabi short stories, I wrote my first story in Panjabi, "My Grandmother".'

In proverbs and similar very idiomatic expressions, there may be dropping of parallel elements from both clauses:

157. jéi ma ,
PP NP [VP]

ʊjéa putter . (m-151)
PP NP [VP]

10.2 Connectives

There are four simple connectives which join clauses:

/te/ 'and'

158. khó læ pæ̀n̲ da bet̲ua,
VP oNP

te kéd læ wɪccõ sewa rupɪa. (m-98)
VP PP oNP

'Snatch away sister's purse and take out a rupee and a quarter.'

See also sentences 10, 189, 193, 199.

/jã/ 'or'

159. taj šaed ʊs leɪ ucca si,
sNP PP PP AP VP

jã ʊs de petthrã wɪc ʊs leɪ hut̲a neɪ́ si.(gs-77)
PP PP NP VP

'Perhaps the Taj was too high for him, or its stone could not give him a swing.' (concerning a pigeon)

/per/ 'but'

160. ó sǽm geĩ, per mere kol a geĩ. (gs-30)

'She was frightened, but she came to me.'

See also sentences 166, 175.

/kɪ/ 'that'

161. meĩnu kɪse ne akhɪa si, kɪ pejãme kemizã mæliã ne. (m-97)
iNP sNP mVP C sNP AP mVP

'Did anyone tell me that pajamas and shirts were dirty?'

162. é khɪãl kerke beṟa dukh hoɪa, kɪ meri cúṟi kuṟi wi ese
sVP NP VP C NP NP

nerk di wasi si. (gs-41)
VP

'I was much disturbed at the thought that my outcaste girl was also a dweller in this hellish place.'

See also sentences 187, 192.

/jã/ occasionally introduces both clauses:

jã ó éthe reéga,
C NP PP VP

jã bár jáega.
C [NP] PP VP

'Either he will stay here or go out.'

/na/ as a connective joining clauses is most usually used before both clauses:

na tã on éthe koi kem i kita,
C E NP PP NP VP

na i ó šǽr gɪã.
C E NP PP VP

'Neither did he do anything useful here, nor did he go to the city.'

163. mæ na cekōr wekhɪa si,
NP C NP VP

na cekōri . (m-27)
[NP] C NP [VP]

'Neither had I seen Chakor, nor Chakori.'

For additional examples see sentences 84, 148.

/na/ is used as a connective introducing a second clause when the first clause is negative with /neí/. The combination /neí ... tã na .../ means something like 'if not, ... then let it be not ...'

164. ceŋga neí menna, tã na men. (ic-39)
AP VP C C VP

'Well, if you do not agree, who cares?'

10.3 /je ... tã/

/je/ 'if' is frequently used to introduce one clause, the other being introduced by /te/ or /tã/ 'then.'

165. je taŋge te cérna howe, te kerāɪa peílõ puchida. (R)
Crd PP VP Crd NP PP NP

'If you want to hire a tonga, then you should first ask the price.'

Note that /te/ in the first clause is a postposition 'on.'

166. per je menūkh cáe, tā̃ sari dʊnia nu ruhā̃ṇi beṉa sekda e.
C Crd NP VP Crd NP NP VP
(g -126)

'If a man wills, he can make this whole world a spiritual dwelling.'

For additional examples see sentences 110, 114.

167. pèla je pesu dúd denda howe,
Crd NP NP VP

jā̃ hel wónda howe,
C NP VP

tā̃ tā̃ gel hoi, (m-47)
Crd E NP VP

'Of course, if the cattle give milk or are useful for plowing, then it is a different matter.'

/tā̃/ 'then' is also occasionally used after other coordinates:

168. hʊṉ jed jiwen khetem ho rɪá si ,
tā̃ perēm waŋ deya kor nu é hor wi emōlek
japeṉ legga. (ss-113)

'Now when life was coming to an end, it seemed even dearer to Daya Kaur.'

For an additional example with /jedō ... tā̃/ see sentence 97.

10.4 Correlatives

Some of the most frequent types of coordinate constructions involve the use of two correlatives from the same set. These are tabulated in 5.6, except that the following were accidentally omitted.

9.	eda	oda	jeda	kɪdda
	'this much'	'that much'	'as much	'how much?'
10.	ena	ona	jɪnna	kɪnna
	'this much'	'that much'	'as much'	'how much?'
11.	--	--	jed	ked
			'when'	'when?'
12.	edọ̃	odọ̃	jedọ̃	kedọ̃
	'from now'	'since then'	'when'	'when?'

One type uses a 'j-word' (i.e., one of the words in the third column) to introduce the first clause, and an 'o-word' to introduce the second. These may be any of the several pairs in the tabulation:

169. jɪtthe sʊndərta pap nal jori jandi e.
NP PP VP

óthe na zindgi,

na rəb,

te na mézəb de erth sémje jande e. (g -115)
NP VP

'Where beauty is associated with evil, life and God and religion have no significance.'

170. jɪnna wéd lɪ́khaŋge,

one wéd pæse mɪ́lenge . (m-88)

'The more we write, the more money we get.'

The j-word is most often initial in its clause, but occasionally it may be found in some other position:

171. meũju majre da jo lal kègra si,
ó ɪnder peresth di lal eŋgi si. (m-119)
'What was 'red skirt' in Mauju Majra, was 'red jacket' in Indar Parasth.'

Two of the sets are incomplete. /é ó/ are used in place of the missing members of the set /éṟa kéṟa/ and /edõ odõ/ to complete the set /jed ked/:

172. jéṟa nɪrpò neí,
ó eḏõl neí. (g -31)
'He who is not fearless, is not stable.'

When the correlatives are inflected, as are the pronominal and adjectival ones, it is not necessary that the pair be in the same form. Sentence 170 shows /jɪnna/ in masculine singular, and /one/ in masculine plural to agree with /pæse/ 'money.' The following shows /jo ... ó/ in two different cases:

173. jɪs yuniwersiṯi wɪc mæ péṟda sã,
óde wɪc terã kʊ hɪndostani muṉḏe
péṟde sen. (gs-49)
'In the University where I was studying, there were about thirteen other Indian students.'

Much less frequently, the j-word introduces the second clause, and the o-word the first:

174. admi ona i ceŋga e,
jɪnna ó mɪttha howe.
'The more loving a man is, the better.'

Also less frequent is the use of a j-word and an e-word (one from the first column in the table of correlatives). In this combination, the j-word will usually occur in the second clause.

175. per ɪõ japda,
jɪwẽ do sediã ho geĩã ne. (m-89)
'But it looks as if two centuries have passed.'

/ɪõ/ 'thus' is a dialectal variant of /ɪwẽ/, and is thus in the same set with /jɪwẽ/. For additional examples see sentences 17 and 154.

In a few of the correlative sets there is a special member which is used only as an introducer of a second clause in a coordinate construction. These form the following pairs:
/jo ... so .../, /jɪwẽ ... tɪwẽ/, /jed ... ted .../, and
/jedõ ... tedõ .../.

176. jo pherɪa gɪã, so cor. (m-123)
'He who is caught is a thief.'

177. duje šebdã wɪc
jed tik dóã da jut kaem hæ ,
sNP cNP VP
ted tik dóã di wa wal koi nei tek sekda.
PP sNP VP
(ns-212)

Notice that the sentence is arranged to emphasize the parallelism of /dóã da/ and /dóã di/ 'of the two of them,' even though these are embedded in structures that are not at all parallel.

Coordinates can be repeated for emphasis:

178. jɪwẽ jɪwẽ ler̲āi weddi geī,
tɪwẽ tɪwẽ lokā̃ de dɪl ʊdās hʊnde geē.
'As the war lingered on, the people's hearts became sad.'

For a complex coordination with /jed ... ted .../ see the poem 202.

Occasionally the o-word of a coordinate pair is omitted. In most such cases it could very readily be supplied without making any major alteration in the sentence.

179. jedõ menŪkh dɪl wɪc jezbe tèr̲ke,
sój perkhen̲ wāl̲i ekh khʊlli,
brǽmen̲d̲ di keɪa pel̲t̲ geī. (g -116)
'When man's heart began to beat with emotion, and his beauty-conscious eye was opened, then the nature of the universe was changed.'

To make this sentence complete, /te/ 'and' should be added to introduce the second clause and /odõ/ or /tedõ/ to introduce the third. The omission of the second member of the correlative pair is a stylistic device more frequent in poetry than prose. For additional examples see sentences 31, 49.

10.5 Other Patterns of Coordination

Coordinate clauses are frequently marked by other pairs of associated and usually contrasting words. The following are merely three examples of many possibilities.

/ɪk ... duja .../ 'One ... second ...'./peílã/ 'first' is not used with /duja/.

180. ɪk te ó təkr̲a si, duja gʊsse khor.

'He was strong to begin with, and on top of that he was full of anger.'

See also sentence 53.

/peílã ... pher .../ 'first ... then ...'

181. peílã ó mere kol̲ aɪa, pher tere kol̲, pher óde kol̲.

'First he came to me, then to you, and afterwards to him.'

/peílõ ... pɪcchõ .../ 'first ... afterwards ...'

182. meri dɪlcə̃spi te es gel nal̲ e, kɪ os jenãni ne peílõ ki
socɪa, te pɪcchõ ki. (m-50)

'I am interested in what that woman thought in the beginning and what she thought later on.'

Note that the last clause, being largely identical with the preceding, has most of the elements omitted. The full form would be /os jenãni ne pɪcchõ ki socɪa/.

Sentence 157, /jeí ma, ujéa putter/ exemplifies another pair of words used to mark coordination /jeí ... ujéa .../.

Sentence 192 includes a coordinate construction with /pàwẹ̃ ... pàwẹ̃ .../ 'if ... if ...' /pàwẹ̃ sardiã hóṉ, pàwẹ̃ germiã/ 'whether it is winter or summer.' See also line K in the poem 202 in Section 10.12.

10.6 Styles

There is great stylistic variation in Panjabi. This finds expression in particularly vocabulary selection and in syntax. While detailed treatment of style is outside the scope of a reference grammar, certain aspects of the variation in syntax cannot be overlooked. Only one dimension of variation can be discussed here. The two poles can be labeled literary and colloquial. The first is typical of written essays and the more formal parts of short stories and novels. The latter is typical of informal spoken conversation and oral telling of tales. Conversation in plays and some novels approximates to the colloquial -- indeed in a few instances exaggerates colloquial usage. Formal public speaking often approximates closely to literary Panjabi. The two types, therefore, form the two ends of a complex continuum of variation. Much of the material in the language can be profitably considered as a mixture of the two styles lying at some point along the continuum. Some features of the syntactic differences between the two styles are essential background for understanding sentence sequencing.

10.7 Word Order

The order of words within phrases is very largely fixed in all types of Panjabi except poetic language, see 10.12. This order for noun and adjective phrases has been described in Chapter 6. With very few exceptions, modifiers precede the heads. When there are two or more modifiers, the order is generally fixed. When, however, a noun has a complex modifier, particularly if there are two such, it is common for such a modifier to be totally removed from the phrase and to be treated as a semi-independent element. The following is a relatively simple case:

183. əccha, bəkló de wɪc ɪk chəni hʊndi si, bəri wəddi. (R)
PP NP VP AP

'Well, there used to be a very big cantonement in Bakloh.'

In a more literary style this sentence would be:

bəkló de wɪc ɪk bəri wəddi chəni hʊndi si.
PP NP VP

Separating the AP from the NP in this way serves to put emphasis on it. If /bəri wəddi/ is not separated from the NP, its position within the NP is fixed. /ɪk bəri wəddi chəni/ 'a very large cantonement' is possible, /bəri wəddi ɪk chəni/ is not possible as a single phrase.

Within verbal phrases there is also very largely fixed order. The only exception is in the position of the negator and auxiliary in negative sentences. These normally precede all the verbs in the phrase, but exceptionally may come between two of them:

ó neí ja sekda. 'He cannot go.'
NP VP

ó ja neí sekda. 'He cannot go.'

If certain emphatics occur in the verbal phrase, the order is different, but the change is required:

ó ja sekda i neí. 'He certainly cannot go.'

10.8 Phrase Order

In contrast to this very strict ordering of words within phrases, the order of phrases in clauses is very free. It is, however, much freer in colloquial Panjabi than in literary. In the latter there is sufficient uniformity to establish certain orders as normal. Other orders can then be considered as departures from these norms. In colloquial the order is so free that no norms can be established from colloquial materials alone. It is of course possible to consider the literary norms as applicable to all forms, but it is not certain that it is profitable to do so.

The following can be considered as normal literary clause patterns:

sNP + Loc + mVP

món̲ šǽr gɪã. 'Mohan went to the city.'

sNP + iNP + mVP

món̲ ne són̲ nu wekhɪa. 'Mohan saw Sohan.'

sNP + iNP + oNP + mVP

món ne són nu pɪãli dɪtti. 'Mohan gave Sohan a cup.'

sNP + cNP + mVP

món cəŋga admi e. 'Mohan is a good man.'

Beyond these, however, very little can be said about normal order of clause elements even for literary Panjabi. Most locative, temporal, manner, and other postpositional phrases have no clearly recognizable normal position. The mVP is normally final in the clause, but these and the various types of subordinate verbal phrases can occur anywhere before it.

It should be emphasized that the statements just made about order are statements about norms. Departures are fairly frequent, even in the most formal literary language. The examples given in previous chapters will show a variety of orders. Sentences with departures from the norms of order are by no means exceptional. In much formal Panjabi writing they are very frequent. In works generally considered representative of good literary style strict adherence to the norms is exceptional.

The following sentence is in normal order. It will serve as one example to indicate the possibilities:

```
184.  sara karkhana i hɵme nal cəl rɪá e.          (m-74)
      sNP              PP      mVP

           'The whole establishment is based on pride.'
            sNP                    mVP       PP
```

Having three sentence elements, six permutations are possible.

All are acceptable sentence orders. Some comments, however, are in order. The place of major emphasis in a sentence is usually initial. The second place of emphasis is after /,/ at the end of the sentence. Various arrangements will provide various combinations of emphases. Since the sNP has an attached /i/ there is always some sort of emphasis on this element. The rearrangements merely provide additional emphasis or revalue the emphasis on certain elements.

b) sara karkhana i cel rɪá e, home nal.
sNP mVP PP

In arrangement b) there is secondary emphasis on the PP.

c) home nal cel rɪá e, sara i karkhana.
PP mVP sNP

Arrangement c) also has emphasis on both the sNP and the PP. However, c) gives somewhat greater emphasis to the PP than does b). How much will depend on the stress patterns. If /home/ has /3/, this will be maximal.

d) home nal sara karkhana i cel rɪá e.
PP sNP sNP

Arrangement d) also puts considerable emphasis on the PP, and perhaps somewhat less on the sNP than does c).

e) cel rɪá e home nal, sara i karkhana.
mVP PP sNP

Arrangement e) puts the emphasis on the mVP and the sNP. The balance of emphasis depends on the pitch distribution as in c). Note the order in the sNP -- this change is required: /i/

cannot stand in sentence final position; it, therefore, stands before the last word in the phrase to be emphasized when the phrase is final. Otherwise it usually stands at the end of the phrase.

f) cel rɪá e sara i karkhana, home nal.
mVP sNP PP

Arrangement f) gives a certain emphasis to all three elements, but again just how this would work out in detail depends on the pitch patterns. Any intonation which tended to equalize the emphasis on the three elements would be most unusual.

In the above examples /,/ has been written in some. In general /,/ is not to be expected in a) or d) -- the ones with mVP final and in its usual position -- and is quite usual in all the others -- ones where the final element is out of normal position. This is one of the considerations that leads to recognizing a) as the norm. In most, /,/ is only possible before the third element. However, in f) it would be possible after the first element:

f′) cel rɪ́á e , sara karkhana i home nal.
mVP sNP PP

This would increase the emphasis on the mVP. In general emphasis is increased in shorter intonation spans.

A second sentence will illustrate some further features:

185. nale pài atma sɪ́ŋ sentã de meli sen. (m2-75)
C sNP cNP VP

Twenty-four permutations of the four elements are possible. Most of them are acceptable sentences. It is not feasible to list them all and comment individually. Those arrangements with the VP /sən/ initial are considerably less likely than most of the others. /nale/ is most likely to be in initial position; for it to follow the first phrase is almost as probable; but the probability declines considerably if /nale/ is put still later in the sentence. It is not possible for /nale/ to occur in the second intonation span. That is, it must precede /,/ if this occurs. The combination of these preferences will make some of the twenty-four permutations highly improbable, and a few impossible. Others, however, will be highly likely. In this respect this sentence is distinctly different from 184 in which none of the permutations can be said to be highly improbable, though, of course, even there they are not all equally likely.

There is an additional complication in sentence 185. /səntã de/ 'of the Sadhus' is an AP contained in the cNP /santã de meli/ 'friend of the Sadhus.' Such APs are often detached from their phrase. This gives rise to a number of additional arrangements. But again a few are probably impossible, and a number are highly unlikely. The following are but a small sample of the acceptable orders:

b) nale səntã de meli sən, pài atma síŋ.
C cNP mVP xNP

In arrangement b), /3/ can be put on /səntã/ to give emphasis to this element. Secondary emphasis would be on sNP.

c) meli sen nale sentã de , pài atma sɪ́ŋ.
cNP mVP C AP sNP

In arrangement c), emphasis would be on /meli/ which would probably have /3/.

d) pài atma sɪ́ŋ meli sen nale , sentã de.
sNP cNP mVP C AP

In arrangement d), the sNP is emphasized, with secondary emphasis on /sentã de/. /nale/ is here about as far from initial position as it can be.

e) nale meli sen pài atma sɪ́ŋ , sentã de.
C cNP mVP sNP AP

In e) if /3/ is on /meli/ the major emphasis would be there, with secondary emphasis on /sentã de/. Some such device would be the normal way of putting emphasis both on 'friend' and 'of Sadhus.'

There are a few other limitations on order. In sentence 53 there are two PPs: /des de ɪk kone tõ/ 'from one corner of the country' and /duje kone wɪc/ 'to another corner.' These may be separated by some other clause coming between, but their order cannot be reversed. These are coordinated by /ɪk ... duja .../ 'one ... another ...'. This coordinating device demands a fixed order of the coordinated elements, whether they be clauses or phrases.

10.9 Phrase Order and Sequencing

To say that a given sentence can occur in large numbers of different permutations can be misleading. In isolation many of the possible arrangements listed and discussed in the last section would sound (or look) very peculiar indeed. Many of the orders are permissible only in certain contexts. Conversely, for any given context, only a small number of the "possible" orders are actually permitted. To make an accurate judgment of the acceptability of a sentence arrangement it is necessary to contextualize it. In 10.8 we have considered a sentence as acceptable if it seems possible to construct a context into which it would fit acceptably. In some instances it would not be easy to find such a context.

There is thus a strong interdependence between sentence arrangement and context. Looking at this from the other side, the sentence order is often a signal of structural relationships between successive sentences. Only a few hints at the operation of this system can be given. To give more would require a tremendous amount of careful investigation of a sort that this present study only prepares the way for.

As an example to illustrate this consider the following sentence:

186. kesūr sara hæ , lal kə̀gre da. (m-120)
sNP AP mVP cAP

'The whole guilt is the red skirt's.'

The normal order would be the following:

sara kəsūr lal kə̀gre da hæ.
sNP cAP mVP

A modifier of /kəsūr/ 'guilt, trouble' has been detached and moved to pre-verbal position as a semi-independent element. The cAP has been put in post-verbal position. This puts emphasis on /kəsūr/ and on /lal kə̀gre da/ 'of the red skirt.' The following are the two sentences immediately preceding 186, which ends the paragraph:

187. apā̃ di khúlli te pəkki rae hæ ,
sNP mVP

kɪ brɪj bala be kəsūr hæ .
C sNP cAP mVP

phoji əbsər be kasūr hæ. (m-120)
sNP cAP mVP

'It is my very firm opinion that Brij Bala was guiltless. The army officer was guiltless.'

The "emphasis" on /kəsūr/ is really only a device to tie this sentence in closely with the previous two sentences. These in turn are tied together by the close parallelism of the second with the last clause of the first. Indeed, it would be quite possible to consider that the two sentences are basically identical, but that /apā̃ di khúlli te pəkki rae hæ, kɪ/ has been omitted from the second. If /sara/ or /lal kə̀gra da/ were initial in sentence 186, it would weaken this connection. Moreover, the placing of /lal kə̀gre da/ at the very end of the paragraph with emphasis consequent on occupying a single short intonation contour after /,/ gives 'of the red skirt' some prominence. It is in fact the climax of the paragraph.

The commonest departure from normal order is the transposition of one phrase to post-verbal position. This can be almost any sentence element. The following examples will show some of the possibilities:

The sNP is moved to post-verbal position:

188.	nɪt	edã	i kuttɪã	gewon̲a	hunda	en.	(p-117)
	PP	PP	PP	VP		sNP	

'Everyday food is spoiled like this.' (Lit.: 'is spoiled to the dogs')

The oNP is moved to post-verbal position:

189.	jɪs de	kɪse ne	neí	gawẽ	sen gun	
	AP	sNP	mVP		oNP	
	te		neí	kiti	si kirti.	(wa-79)
			mVP		oNP	

'Neither did anyone sing songs for him, nor was he praised.'

The clauses here are quite parallel, the sNP /kɪse ne/ 'anyone' and the detached modifier of the oNP, /jɪs de/ 'for him' can be considered as implied in the second clause by omission. The use of /jɪs/ is part of the apparatus joining this sentence to its context.

A PP is moved to post-verbal position:

190. pàn̲a wertɪa, te herduãri lal mer gɪ́ã , hadse wɪc. (m-120)

'God so willed that Harduari Lal died in that accident.'

A cNP is moved to post-verbal position:

191. meri duji kàni ʊrdu di si , wæræ̃n mendər. (m-18)

'My second story, "Wairan Mander," was in Urdu.'

10.10 Pronoun Omission

In isolated sentences, pronouns are often substituted for noun phrases. In sequences of sentences, the pronouns are generally omitted if the subjects of successive sentences are alike. Under many circumstances, therefore, the use of a pronoun is a signal of change of subject. The following paragraph will illustrate the omission of /ó/. This has been supplied in [ ] wherever some expressed subject would be required in an isolated sentence.

192. səwẽre əmrət wele əje mú càkhr̲a hʊnda , kɪ ó
PP PP sNP mVP C sNP

ʊt̲hdi , pàwẽ sərdiã hón̲ pàwẽ gərmiã.
mVP PP oNP VP PP oNP

'Early morning, when one could hardly see anything, she would get up, whether it was summer or winter.'

/ó/ 'she' is expressed in this sentence, the opening one in a sequence of similar subject. Note the nice parallelism in the /pàwẽ sərdiã hón̲ pawẽ gərmiã [hón̲]/ 'if it is cold weather, if it is hot weather' with the deletion of the second [hón̲].

```
193.  nà tò ke [ó] paṯh wi kerdi jandi te [ó] dúd deí ,
     sVP            oNP     mVP          C  sNP oNP

     cúlle coŋke da kem wi nejɪṯhdi jandi.
                           mVP
```

'After taking a bath, she would recite the sacred hymns, and she would take care of the milk and other things in the kitchen.'

/nà tò ke/ 'after bathing' contains two parallel verbs /nà/ 'bathe' and /tò/ 'wash,' see 7.5.2. /dúd deí/ 'milk and curds' and /cúlle coŋke/ 'stove and hearth' are two two-word compounds both used to mean 'kitchen things,' see 6.9.1.

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194.  sʊfɪã wɪc , pesārã wɪc , wér̠ɪã wɪc [ó] càr̠u bóker
      PP           PP           PP          sNP oNP

      dendi , [te] nɪk sʊk nu [ó] céwã pase sámbdi selíndi.
      mVP      C    iNP        sNP PP         mVP    mVP
```

'She would sweep (lit. 'give the broom to') the rooms, the entryways, the courtyards, and she would put every little thing in order.'

/càru bóker/ is a compound of two words both meaning 'broom.' /nɪk/ means 'small thing'; /sʊk/ is an echo, see 6.9.5. /céwã pase/ 'four sides.' /cewã/ is a dialectal form of /cáre/ 'all four.' /sámbdi/ 'put in order' and /selíndi/ 'put in order' are two nearly synonymous verbal phrases in apposition. This passage is characterized, stylistically, among other things by the heavy use of repetitive compounds and of synonymous appositives.

195. pher ʊsde nɪkke nɪkke pæ̀n perà ut̲h bǽnde , [te] óna nu
PP sNP mVP C iNP

[ó] sewārdi sɪkerdi.
sNP mVP mVP

'Then her younger brothers and sisters would get up,
and she would dress them properly.'

/nɪkke nɪkke/, iteration of an adjective /small.' /pæ̀n perà/ 'sisters and brothers,' a two-word compound, see 6.9.1. /ut̲h bǽnde/ 'finally get up,' see 7.3.7. /sewārdi sɪkerdi/ a parallel construction to /sámbdi selíndi/ in 194. Both mean to 'fix up.'

196. pher [ó] rot̲i t̲ʊkker de ár leg jandi.
PP sNP oNP mVP

'Then she gets busy with cooking the dinner.'

/rot̲i t̲ʊkker/ 'food,' another two-word compound, literally both mean 'bread.'

197. dʊpǽrī [ó] cerkha læ bǽndi , [te] [ó] kesīda chó rekhdi.
PP sNP oNP mVP C sNP oNP mVP

'At noon she would sit beside the spinning wheel,
and do some embroidery.'

198. pɪchle pǽr [ó] mal d̲eŋgrā̃ de pet̲he detthe da phɪker kerdi.
PP sNP oNP mVP

'In the afternoon she would take care of the fodder
for the cattle.'

/mal deŋgrā̃/ 'cattle,' a pair of near synonyms. /pet̲he/ 'fodder' is followed by an echo /detthe/; in isolation /detthe/ would mean 'a handful of fodder,' but this meaning is largely lost in the compound.

199. pher [ó] rat da roṯi ṯukkər [kərdi] [te] [ó] soṉ tõ pǽle
PP sNP oNP mVP C sNP PP

beccɪã nu dewã periã diã kəhaniã [suṉondi], te estrã
iNP oNP mVP C PP

pəta nəí kɪs wele ódi əkh ləg jandi. (d-92)
PP PP sNP mVP

'Then she would prepare the evening meal, and tell the children stories of giants and fairies before they sleep; and no one knows when her eyes close.'

/dewã periã/ 'giants and fairies,' another two-word compound. Note the total omission of the verbal phrases from the first part of the sentence. In this sentence the pronoun is expressed because it is in the genitive case /ódi əkh/ 'her eye.' The subject has changed. If another sequence of sentences with 'she' as subject follows, the subject /ó/ will normally be reintroduced at the beginning.

Under somewhat different circumstances, pronouns may be repeated for emphasis in a series of short quite clearly parallel structures. The following will illustrate:

200. mæ məkhṉi nu də́ssaŋga , ódi gã , óda paṉi , óda khət ,
sNP iNP mVP (

ódi ədɪàni , te óda pɪṯh de ke rə̃s te bǽṉa , mæ kuj nəí
) sNP oNP sVP

pùllɪa , kəl di gəl waŋ sə́b kuj [məĩnu] yad hæ. (gs-28)
PP sNP iNP cNP mVP

'I will tell Makhni that I have not forgotten anything -- her cow, her water, her letter, her half-anna, and her sitting on the platform with her back toward me. I remember everything as if all this happened only yesterday.'

The series of phrases marked ( ) are something of an interpolation without any clear structural relationship to the sentences around them. The repeated use of /óda/ throws them into very strong emphasis. But only the close parallelism prevents their being misconstrued by the reader. Such a series must be considered as in highly special style and is of very infrequent occurrence.

10.11 One Phrase Sentences

Conversation makes extensive use of one-phrase sentences. Most often these can be considered as shortened forms of longer more normal sentences which might be used in the same context. The longer forms would, however, often carry an implication of extreme formality. Commonly a conversation will open with a full sentence, after which it will be carried on for some time in shorter forms.

For example, an opening question might be

$\overset{3}{\text{é}}$ ki $\overset{1}{\text{a}}$ # 'What is this?'

Then the next question might be simply

$\overset{2}{\text{te}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{é}}$ // 'And this?'

But the second question is best considered as an abbreviation of

te é ki a # 'And what is this?'

Answers also are usually shortened sentences, often of a single phrase, though longer forms are possible and occasionally used. For example in conversation the following question might be answered in at least any of the following three ways:

3 2 1 kɪtthe gɪā si móṉ #	'Where did Mohan go?'
2 1 šǽr #	'To the city.'
3 1 šǽr gɪā si #	'He went to the city.'
3 1 šǽr gɪā si móṉ #	'Mohan went to the city.'

In literary Panjabi such questions and answers would be more likely to be of the form

móṉ kɪtthe gɪā si.	'Where did Mohan go?'
móṉ šǽr gɪā si.	'Mohan went to the city.'

The following conversational question form would also have various possible answers, the shorter ones being more usual:

3 2 1 kɪ́nne wekhɪa si , sóṉ nu #	'Who saw Sohan?'
3 1 móṉ ne #	'Mohan.'
3 1 móṉ ne wekhɪa si #	'Mohan saw.'
3 1 móṉ ne wekhɪa si, sóṉ nu#	'Mohan saw Sohan.'

The equivalent literary forms would be

kɪ́nne sóṉ nu wekhɪa si.	'Who saw Sohan?'
móṉ ne sóṉ nu wekhɪa si.	'Mohan saw Sohan.'

Such literary forms are, of course, only norms, and departures from them must be expected. However, the departures would not be so frequent as in colloquial, and in general longer forms with more nearly normal order will be much more common in all forms of written Panjabi than in conversation.

10.12 Poetic Syntax

Poetry is characterized by great freedom of order. It differs from both literary prose language and colloquial language in that there is appreciable freedom of word order, not merely of phrase order. There is also considerably more omission of certain function words than will be found in prose. These features can both be illustrated in the following two poems. Each is given in the original form followed by a rearrangement into normal order and a translation. The first /cen̲d̲i di war/ by Guru Gobind Singh is, of course, in an older form of Panjabi. In some instances modern forms are substituted in the reordering.

201. a) ɪk dɪàr̲e nawen ai dʊrgsá.

dʊrgsá ɪk dɪàr̲e nɔ̀n̲ ai.
sNP PP mVP

One day Durga came to bathe.

b) ɪnder bɪrtha sʊnai epn̲e hal di.

ɪnder ne ónu epn̲e hal di bɪrtha sʊnai.
sNP iNP oNP mVP

Indra told her the tale of his misfortunes.

c) chin ləĩ t̲hʊkrai sate danwi.

sathɔ̃ danwi t̲hʊkrai chin ləĩ.
PP sNP oNP mVP

The devils have snatched away from us our kingdom.

d) loki tɪhi phɪrāi dői apn̲i.

tɪhi apn̲i dői lokĩ phɪrāi.
sNP oNP PP VP

They have spread their influence through the worlds.

e) bæt̲he wae wədài te əmrãwti.

wae wədài bæt̲he, te amrãwti.
PP VP C PP

And they have spread over the heavens, and even Amraoti.

f) dɪtte dew pəjài sə́bnã raksã.

sə́bnã raksã ne dew pəjài dɪtte.
sNP oNP mVP

All the Rakshas have put the gods to flight.

g) kɪnæ na jɪtta jai mǽkhe dæt nu.

kɪnæ na mǽkhe dæt nu jɪtta jai.
sNP iNP mVP

No one can overpower the devil Mehkha.

h) teri sam təkai dewi dʊrgsá.

dewi dʊrgsá, mæ teri sam təkai.
Voc sNP oNP mVP

O Goddess Durga, I have sought your protection.

The most extreme examples are seen in line f where the verb phrase /pejài dɪtte/ 'put to flight' and in line e where /wedài bæt̲he/ 'finished spreading out,' are divided and inverted. Note that /ne/ does not appear in the original at all, but is supplied twice (lines b and f) in the rearrangement.

The following is a modern poem by Sant Singh Sekhon (so-121) in the same classical /war/ genre. The language here is more modern, of course, but there are occasional archaistic touches appropriate to the classical form.

202. a) jan̲a nader šá nu mæ tethõ wéd.

mæ tethõ wéd nader šá nu jan̲a.
sNP PP iNP mVP̄

I know Nadar Shah more than you do.

b) ki hæ teri ʊmer , neí tíã da éd.

teri ʊmer ki hæ , teri ʊmer tiã da éd neí.
sNP cNP VP sNP cNP VP

What is your age? Not even one half of thirty!

c) kita teri soc nu tarikhã red.

tarikhã ne teri soc nu red kita.
sNP iNP mVP

Histories have confused your thinking.

d) nader šá koi neí si besémj bed.

nader šá koi besémj bed neí si.
sNP cNP mVP

Nadar Shah was not a stupid villain.

e) lokĩ howen dukhi raj bẽsã tõ jed ,

jed lok raj bẽsã tõ dukhi hón ,
Crd sNP PP AP VP

When the people are oppressed by the ruling dynasties.

f) raje ete emĩr kérn jed perja bed ,

jed raje te emĩr perja nu bed kérn ,
Crd sNP iNP VP

When king and ruler mistreat their subjects.

g) khawen badã khet nu jed jandiã leg ,

jed badã khet nu khan leg jandiã,
Crd sNP iNP VP

When the fences begin to eat the field.
(i.e., When the protectors begin to assault the protected.)

h) raje hi jed apna kho bæthen teg ,

jed raje hi apna teg kho bæthen ,
Crd sNP oNP mVP

When the kings themselves have completely lost their self-control.

i) chote bede emĩr pher neí rekhde hec .

pher chote te bere te emĩr neí hec rekhde.
PP sNP mVP

Then little people, big people, and rulers do not hesitate.

j) odõ lokĩ cónde , koi de ulẽd

k) æse raj səmãj nu , nek howe bəd.

odõ lok cə́nde kɪ koi æse raj səmãj nu ulə̄d de,
PP sNP mVP C sNP iNP mVP

pàwẽ ó nek howe, jã bəd howe.
PP sNP AP VP C AP VP

Then people wish that someone might change that kingdom and society, whether it be good or bad.

l) nadər šã́ wi ɪs terã ʊt̲t̲hɪa si təd,

təd ɪs tərã nadər šá wi ʊt̲t̲hɪa si,
Crd PP sNP mVP

Then under these circumstances Nadar Shah arose.

m) kiti des iran wɪc ulə̄d pulə̄d.

ʊs ne iran des wɪc ulə̄d pulə̄d kiti.
sNP PP mVP

He brought revolution in Iran.

n) kabəl de wi lok mɪle ʊs taĩ wə́d.

ʊs taĩ kabəl de wi lok wə́d ke mɪle.
PP sNP sVP mVP

Even the people of Kabul joined him enthusiastically.

o) pai hɪndostan ne phɪr ʊs nu səd.

phɪr hɪndostan ne ʊs nu səd pai.
PP sNP iNP oNP mVP

And then India called him.

Line g contains an example of a verbal phrase which is divided and inverted. Line i contains one which is inverted but not divided. Line m contains an echo compound /ʊlə̄d pʊlə̄d/ 'change,' part of another inverted and divided verbal phrase. In a number of places postpositions or connectives are omitted.

ABBREVIATIONS

N	Noun
NP	Noun Phrase
sNP	Subject Noun Phrase
oNP	Direct Object Noun Phrase
iNP	Indirect Object Noun Phrase
A	Adjective
AP	Adjective Phrase
V	Verb
VP	Verb Phrase
sVP	Subordinate Verb Phrase
mVP	Main Verb Phrase
Adv	Adverb
Pr	Pronoun
C	Connective
P	Postposition
PP	Postpositional Phrase
Crd	Coordinate
E	Emphasis
sing.	Singular
plur.	Plural
masc.	Masculine
fem.	Feminine

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wb	-- *Kalghidhar Chamatkar, Part I*, Amritsar, ninth printing, 1959.
wc	-- *Kalghidhar Chamatkar, Part II*, Amritsar, eighth printing, 1959.

RECORDED MATERIALS

Tape recordings were made of several speakers. Sentences from two of them are quoted:

D	Kundan Singh Dhillon, from Thatthi Khara, Amritsar District.
R	Daud Rahbar, from Lahore, Pakistan.

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